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EDITED BY JAMES A. MANSON

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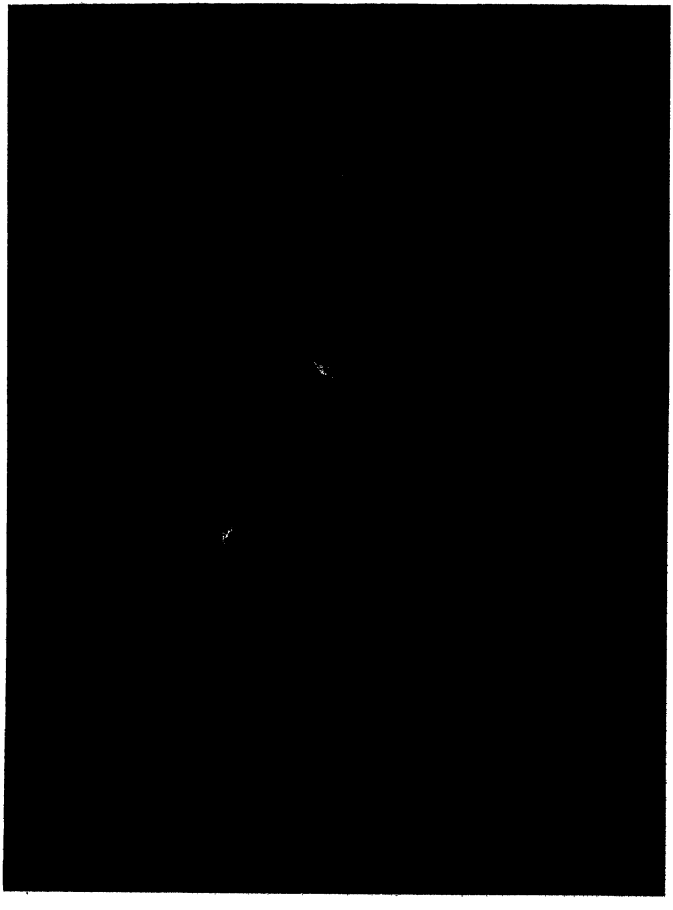
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Sir Henry Raeburn, R.A.

From the original by himself in the National Portrait Gallery.

Sir Henry Raeburn

R.A.

BY

EDWARD PINNINGTON

Illustrated with Photogravure Portrait
and Twenty Plates

London
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1904

TO

MY SISTER MARY.

Preface.

As in the case of many of the Old Masters, a biographer of Sir Henry Raeburn, when weighing the trustworthy material at his command, has no reason to complain of an *embarras de richesse*. All along the line of his predecessors, from first to last, an author finds cause to suspect the true value of the facts—so called for courtesy's sake—out of which the life of the great Scots painter has been built. His attention, accordingly, is chiefly absorbed by the cross-examination of witnesses, and, by dividing the actual from the probable, many colouring passages, besides Cunningham's pretty romance of Raeburn's marriage, come in the end to be rejected.

The most important part of an artist's biography I take to be that treating of his early environment, the birth of the art-instinct or genius, his artistic education, and his acquisition of a style. Of none of these is much known in the case of Raeburn. This has led some of his critics and biographers, more particularly R. A. M. Stevenson and Sir Walter Armstrong, into a great deal of assumption. They argue from probabilities, and their endeavour is both mistaken and hopeless.

Sir Henry Raeburn, R.A.

No conceivable effort can well be more utterly futile and pointless, so far as any practical result is concerned, than that of accounting for genius by material causes. It has failed in many instances, and it has failed unutterably in Raeburn's. It is no more possible to measure the influence of Velasquez—and, for that matter, of Reynolds—in the making of Raeburn, than that of Tintoretto in the making of Velasquez. It is, no doubt, easy to imagine Raeburn surrounded by all manner of masters and models in both Edinburgh and Rome, but let us admit that they spring from imagination, and have no existence in knowledge. No more than history is biography a creation. If you create, even out of the most highly probable probabilities, then, in the name of literary honesty, do not call your work a biography but a romance of real life, or fiction founded upon fact.

In this book a different course has therefore been taken. Raeburn is viewed as the naturally-gifted possessor of certain potentialities which impelled him in one particular direction more forcibly than in any other, and were ultimately focussed upon one specific object. These forces compose what is called artistic genius, and that object was art. In that view, the Raeburn known in art-history appears rather as a development from within than as the individual result of influences operating from without.

The critical standpoint is thereby determined. That he cannot with certainty be attributed to any school or master, or succession of masters—certainty, that is,

resting upon ascertained facts,—virtually brings analytical criticism to an end. It may be continued either as a more or less pleasing and interesting study, or for the sake of illustration by analogy, but it is essentially speculative.

The alternative is to estimate Raeburn simply as we find him, and to look at his various styles as the successive phases of personal evolution. Any question of originality is thus precluded, and the criticism that would inevitably be in great part wasted upon source is centred upon quality. Speculation only complicates the critical problem; there is a stronger assurance of justice in adherence to fact. These sentences indicate the point of view taken in the present volume.

In the biography, I have done my utmost to avoid statements which are either obviously presumptive or tinged with invention, and have adhered closely to what is or seems sound in Cunningham and in the fragmentary writings and references of those who knew Raeburn, including Wilkie, Scott, and a few others. The question of a Raeburn portrait of Burns may perhaps be considered settled. An effort has been made to give in clear detail the succession of portraits of Sir Walter Scott. The investigation of the circumstances attending Raeburn's meditated settlement in London, and of the causes which led him to abandon the project, may be deemed justified by the importance of the issue to Raeburn himself.

Of the living, I have many to thank, and of these the

first is my sister, to whom the book is dedicated. The little offering is no mere compliment. Under her brightening sympathy the work, such as it is, was done, and had else been left undone. I am also indebted to her for much laborious help in the ingathering of material. To Mr. Alexander Mackendrick, of Messrs. T. and R. Annan & Sons, Glasgow, I am grateful for having placed at my disposal the authorities within his reach. He was also very courteous in turning to my advantage the resources of his house for purposes of illustration. For facilities in reaching special authorities I owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. Valentine Stone, Montrose. Much more than the word of acknowledgment that it is only possible here to offer is due to Mr. John Maclauchlan, Curator of the Victoria Art Galleries, Dundee, for trouble and care in giving me exact information concerning Raeburns in Dundee and the surrounding district. Mr. George Hay, R.S.A., Secretary of the Royal Scottish Academy; Mr. Robert Gibb, R.S.A., Curator of the National Gallery of Scotland; and Mr. James L. Caw, Curator of the National Portrait Gallery of Scotland, were all very obliging in furnishing details of the Raeburns in the several collections under their charge. With their assistance, and especially that of Mr. Maclauchlan, it has been possible to make a few additions to previous lists of Raeburn's works. Of those in the Glasgow Corporation Art Galleries, Kelvingrove, Mr. Andrew Rennie kindly supplied a catalogue. Additional thanks are due to Mr. Caw for information concerning sundry Raeburn

localities in Edinburgh. I must also thank Mr. J. Drummond Smith, of the *Montrose Standard,* for the courtesy and care with which he undertook and executed the proof-reading.

For special courtesies I am under obligation to Mr. David Douglas, publisher, Edinburgh; to Messrs. Robinson & Fisher, London, concerning prices, and in the same connection to the Editor of the *Art Journal,* and to Mr. J. Bolivar Manson, especially in respect of the London public galleries and the prices fetched at various times at auction.

To the owners of Raeburn's pictures which have been reproduced in my book I owe much, for their generous courtesy has enabled me to provide, within limits, an adequate and varied presentment of the painter's versatility and genius. In this regard Mr. William Heinemann, the publisher of Sir Walter Armstrong's sumptuous volume, lent me a ready assistance which lightened my task appreciably, and for which I hereby thank him.

E. P.

THE ROWANS,
AUCHTERMUCHTY, FIFESHIRE,
April 1904.

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Sir Henry Raeburn, R.A.

CHAPTER I.

RAEBURN'S PLACE IN SCOTS ART.

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SIR HENRY RAEBURN'S place in the history and development of painting in Scotland is almost co-ordinate, in respect of both interest and importance, with his position in art. He was not only born in Scotland, but he made it the sphere of his life-long practice as painter. He spent virtually all his life there, and found there nearly all the subjects of his brush.

Raeburn's Relation to Scotland

His position in the North, moreover, was altogether unique. As artist he lived in absolute isolation, a

kind of royal solitude. He ignored Scots precedent, and rose clear of the environment of life. His work bears the stamp of no external influence, whether school or earlier Master. There is not a trace of Raeburn in any of his Scots predecessors, and none of his successors has taken up his palette and brush.

"The Reynolds of the North"

He has been called the Reynolds of the North, and Scott is said to have given him the name of the Scottish Van Dyck; but in seeking his origin—in, as it were, accounting for him—both titles are as misleading as it was to style George Jamesone also the Scottish Van Dyck, Sir John Medina the Kneller of the North, David Allan the Scottish Hogarth, and Wilkie the Scottish Teniers.

There is doubtless no nationality in art. Dryden says truly that "The pencil speaks the tongue of every land," and when we come to look in the Temple of Art for a niche for Raeburn, we shall find the fittest beside Velasquez. But neither Reynolds, nor Van Dyck, nor Hals, nor Velasquez had anything to do with making Raeburn an artist. They did not suggest art to him as the field in which his life-work should be done, and whatever influence they, or any of them, exercised upon him, it does not explain the supremacy he attained.

There are instances in Scots art which exemplify both the dependence of art upon circumstance and its independence of it. Sir Noël Paton became a painter because he was born in an atmosphere of art. The

father of Alexander Fraser, R.S.A., was an amateur artist, and that may explain why the son became one of the foremost landscape-painters Scotland has seen. In the case of Wilkie, on the other hand, living in an out-of-the-way Fifeshire parish destitute of art, it can only be said that art fell upon him even as a "tongue like as of fire." It was so also with William McTaggart, R.S.A. He lived apart from art, and yet in boyhood chose it for the bride of his heart. A hundred similar instances might be given of Art's oracular annunciation to her chosen messengers. Their selection is rarely explicable, but be they what and where they may, in due time Art comes, issues her imperial mandate, and they must needs obey. As to the principle of selection, there is none discoverable to human intelligence. We are almost compelled to look for the secret of it in the divine naming of Bezaleel.

Art's Annunciation

In like manner, Raeburn was led by some secret influence to make art-work the fulfilment of his mission. He felt impelled to exercise a special gift the precise form of which he did not at first understand or realise. He reached pre-eminence in virtue of a richer endowment than that bestowed upon his fellow-countrymen. "I could not help," said Paton, "being an artist." And, to paraphrase Tennyson, Raeburn might have said, "I take up art because I must, And paint but as the linnets sing."

Genius a "Donum Dei"

It is desirable that this matter should be under-

stood, and that the possibility of an artist having possessed an individual gift should be assimilated. Confusion may be thereby avoided. For, in trying to find a source for this or that feature of an artist's style, there are writers much given to beating the air. They build theories upon probability and fancy. They lay Raeburn upon their dissecting-table, and with an air of superhuman wisdom assert that one part of him is a loan from Reynolds, another is a debt to Hals, in others are borrowings from Hoppner, and the whole man is a transmigrated Velasquez.

This is mainly imagination masquerading as critical wisdom. A study of Turner and his methods should bring all such pseudo-criticism to an end. He studied, sketched, and copied, finding places of study alike in the fields, in the full flood of golden sunlight, and in the gallery, and what is the result? It is Turneresque. He imitated neither art nor nature. He absorbed both. He found in them nourishment for heart and brain, the motive power of his mighty genius. He worshipped Apollo, and the god blessed him with inspiration, told him how to look the sun in the face, and paint pictures with its beams.

A Lesson from Turner

In that lies the real secret of Raeburn's strength. Little is known directly of his education and studies in art. He probably tried, as many others have done, to probe the subtlety of the peerless Velasquez, and he may have inquired into the methods of the artists named, and of a host of others, but he took

their teachings into his system to the enrichment of his blood. He bent them to the quickening of his observation, the perfecting of his skill, the building-up of his own individuality. He went to his putative teachers for food; he did not make them either idols to worship or models to follow.

The Secret of Raeburn's Power

The rule here dealt with is universal. Place a weak man with a mere instinct for art before one of the Masters, whether Titian, or Velasquez, or Turner, and he will to a certainty fall prostrate in feeble adoration. The Liliputian cannot take in the Colossus any more than the Thames waters can be gathered in a washing-tub. But being under the spell of a magician who works his wonders with brush and colour, the pigmy, in trying to follow, falls into the vice of copying. His admiration does not inspire him. It masters him, crushes his personal manhood, makes him drunk as with wine, obscures his judgment, and, in such fashion, debauched and demoralised, he sinks into the imitator's grave.

Place a strong man, a Raeburn, in the same position, and he will make so much of the Master as he needs a part of himself. He will do it, moreover, in such a way that, except by the imaginative theorists aforesaid, the borrowed element cannot be traced. And what is the end? Raeburn remains Raeburn, and his portraits are Raeburnesque, and nothing else. The demonstration of an affinity between him and earlier Masters may

Imitation and Assimilation

not be so far understood as to render it easy of reconciliation with his perfect independence, and yet it is not strange. A multitude of cases might be quoted of the great in intellectual and artistic power proclaiming their kinship across the ages. Those who stand upon the same plane of thought and endeavour are well-nigh bound to touch each other at some point. Travelling the same road they reach the same end. The second, in point of time, may unconsciously repeat the first, but he does not necessarily echo him. The imitator only is an intellectual beggar. It is both an ungenerous and a stupid mistake to confound the parallelisms of genius with plagiarisms, and to see in every chance resemblance a proof of either influence or imitation.

Raeburn an Independent Genius

In the present work, at all events, Raeburn will be treated as an independent genius in art, precisely as a flower and a fruit tree are independent growths. They are fed by the soil in which they are planted; but who would affect to trace the crumbled peat, the decayed leaves, the guano, the nitrate of soda in the full-blown pelargonium or the ripe nectarine? So it is safe and wise to follow Raeburn through the successive stages of his art corresponding with bud, blossom, and fruit, and not to view him as the conglomerate result of lessons from earlier masters. His studies, both ascertained and problematical, are to be looked at as biographical incidents. Technical similarities between him and others are only the outcome of the endeavours of artists who, though far apart in respect of time, took

parallel ways to a common objective. This was virtually unavoidable. To raise out of it a question of either appropriation or copying is as absurd and illogical as it is unjust. Raeburn may have been a student of many but was the disciple of no master. He painted with a spontaneity perhaps unequalled, and certainly unexcelled, in the entire history of Art, as if from an inward impulse which might be guided but could not be repressed. He was no artificial production, but a natural development, and his lofty pre-eminence in Scotland can only be ascribed to cultivated faculty.

Portraiture the First Scots Art

His position is all the more honourable as portrait-painting was the first form of art that took firm root in Scotland. George Jamesone, of Aberdeen (1587-1644), may be called not only the founder of Scots but of British art of any real importance. Earlier art-work in Scotland was done chiefly, if not wholly, by foreigners. Such names are met with as Joan Vanak, apparently a portrait-painter; Mireveldt; Arnold Bronkhorst, or Arthur von Bronchurst, the first formally-appointed Court-painter or King's Limner for Scotland; Cornelius Jansen; Daniel Mytens, who also came to be King's Limner for both James VI. (I. of England) and Charles I. But George Jamesone was the founder of an art distinctively Scots. Before Hogarth, England also relied wholly on foreign skill, and as Hogarth lived from 1697 to 1764, Scotland made a beginning in art more than a hundred years before her southern neighbour. Jamesone was contem-

porary with the Flemish Rubens, Breughel, Teniers, and Van Dyck, and with the Masters of the Golden Age of Dutch Art—Frans Hals, Vandevelde, Swanevelt, Ruysdael, Rembrandt, Ostade, Cuyp, Van der Helst, the Wouvermans, Berchem, and Jan Steen, although a few of these had not reached manhood when he died. He had passed long before the meridian of French art, before Greuze and the painters of *fêtes galantes*. He lived in the time of Guido Reni, Domenichino, and Annibale Caracci, of Velasquez and Murillo.

George Jamesone and his Contemporaries

This bird's-eye view of European art may serve to fix in memory the time of Jamesone's activity. It further suggests that the new current of æstheticism which passed over the Continent in the beginning of the seventeenth century was felt like murmured music in the Granite City. That it should have touched Aberdeen may appear somewhat mysterious, but it is really not so. Jamesone came of artistic stock, both his father and a maternal uncle having been architects. Aberdeen, again, was in the forefront of Scottish culture, and maintained intimate commercial relations with some of the centres of European art, such as Bruges, the city of Memlinc. To strengthen the bond between Scotland and the Low Countries, Jamesone, seemingly after practising painting a good many years at home, went abroad and for a time took his place beside Van Dyck in the studio of Rubens at Antwerp. He carried back with him to Scotland something more

Jamesone Studies under Rubens

than a flavour of the art of the great Fleming, and painted a great number of portraits of royalties and nobles with a distinctly Flemish accent. As to the quality of his work, he undoubtedly far surpassed not only the British artists of his own time, and many who came after him, but a number of the imported foreigners who found a field in London.

However that may be, and opinions are likely to differ, relatively to the present inquiry Jamesone is to be viewed rather as a historical than as an artistic figure. His is the honour, and to him attaches the interest, of both laying the foundation-stone of Scots art and founding the line which led up to Raeburn. After Jamesone, art struggled feebly for more than a century. He, in fact, stands like a lighthouse in the dark. He had no worthy successor, made almost no impression upon national thought or manners, but left light enough to enable us to realise the intense gloom that descended upon Scotland after his going. Artists came, no doubt, but they can only be seen like miners in a coalpit. Their movements can be but dimly followed by watching the wavering lights of the lamps they carry hooked in their caps. The morning of Art's day in the North, in other words, dawned with promising brightness, but it was still morning when the sky was gloomed as by thunderclouds, and it was long before the burst of splendour came, in the very centre of which stands the courtly figure of Sir Henry Raeburn.

Between Darkness and Dawn

CHAPTER II.

THE REFORMATION AND ART.

Scotland under a cloud—The *perfervidum ingenium*—Critics criticised—Scots character, taste and temperament—The sister arts in the North—Reynolds and Raeburn, Thomson and Turner—The pre-Lauderites—The School of Lauder—Religion and Art—The Scots an artistic race—The tide of civilisation—Bonfires of the Reformation—A tornado of bigotry—Effect upon national character—The Scots Renaissance.

NOT far to seek are the causes of the darkness that fell upon Scotland in the sixteenth century. They were ecclesiastical and political, and have no bearing upon the artistic or inartistic temperament of the people. It is not, that is, because the Scot is destitute of the æsthetic sense that his country was for more than a century and a half plunged in Philistinism, and that no earlier Raeburn came to light up the dreary stretch of time between Jamesone—or between the Reformation—and the closing years of the eighteenth century.

Causes of Scotland's Submergence

The actual condition of Scotland at that time as a nursery of Art theorists are apt to ignore. They do not realise either Jamesone's position or the feverish and turbulent unrest of Scotland in his day. Not only did

he not come, as is alleged, at the right moment, but he came as a swallow might in January. Religion had turned the strong brain of Scotland. It was frantic as a man in delirium. As to Jamesone starting a native school of art, as Sir Walter Armstrong suggests he might have done, it would not have been more difficult to paint pictures in a burning lime-kiln. The causes of this, let it be repeated, have no connection with the character and natural, undisturbed preferences of the Scottish people.

Religious Delirium

The subject of Scottish mental trend and taste has, no doubt, been brought up in a somewhat obtrusive manner, but it is nowise necessary to follow Mr. R. A. M. Stevenson and Sir Walter Armstrong in musings which have no bearing upon Raeburn. Mr. Stevenson, in truth, goes far afield. He condescends upon Scottish thoroughness, fervour, enthusiasm, and stubborn adherence to an aim. The type "sees one thing only," "will meet any obstacle and suffer any toil to keep in his path." "Have we not seen the more enthusiastic among the ministers and their followers make of religion so deadly a torture and so mad an absurdity that no other race could have endured its inhuman and inconsequent thraldom?" At the same time, "conventions, accepted notions, melt in such a man's head." The rapid growth of civilisation stopped somewhat too suddenly the natural outlet of Scots energy, "war, love, and a wild life." Others must, therefore, be found in education, travel, and many pursuits and pleasures.

Speculations of R. A. M. Stevenson

Still, although many things have militated against the birth and growth of men of genius, it must be satisfactory to the Scot to be assured upon authority, as it were, that the Scottish character is a promising ground for the sprouting of genius, and that the Scottish type of genius seems admirably worthy of cultivation. Being too thorough-going for either religion or shifty politics, Mr. Stevenson thinks the arts perhaps offer the Scot the best and most liberal field for his energies. Finally there is this: "Literature, painting, music, sculpture, and the lasting modes of religious expression demand in no small degree from those who use them the gifts of enthusiasm, intellectual courage, and logical thoroughness. In these qualities Raeburn was richly endowed."

It is pleasant at length to be offered a pertinent statement. For, looking back, it is difficult to see anything relating to Raeburn and his art, anything worthy of the brilliant critic of Velasquez. The fact is all the more irritating in this, that when Mr. Stevenson spoke of religion being made a torture and an absurdity, he actually laid his finger upon the crux of the whole subject, and formulated for himself a text from which he might have worked back to historic truth.

Taking his cue from Mr. Stevenson, Sir Walter Armstrong carries generalising to a far greater extent. He leads his readers in a dreamy, thoughtful mood, admittedly pleasant, through a lengthy racial aside. He takes up Teuton and Latin, the Netherlands, France, Greece, Italy in succession, and discusses their several arts with much lucidity and learning, in order

to show that art depends less upon special racial gifts than upon favouring external conditions. The only objection to the essay is that Sir Walter has not looked for its appropriate and only pertinent application in Scotland. It accordingly throws no light upon Scots art, tells nothing of its long submergence, nothing of the Why of Raeburn's advent.

Theories of Sir Walter Armstrong

The career of Scotland may not have been favourable "to a native development of art," but it certainly was not overshadowed by England. Its relations with the Continent were sufficiently intimate for it to import thence both a theology and an art. Artistic ideas and ambitions filtered—or had an opportunity of filtering—into it as continuously and healthily as they did from Italy into France. The Scots spirit may have been distinct from the English, but, as a matter of fact, England had nothing in the form of art to give Scotland. The materially poorer country was richer in both intellect and art than her more wealthy neighbour. The earliest instructors of the Scot in painting were neither English nor French but Dutch and Flemish.

It may make for truth to abandon theory and to go to history. There are two subjects to be considered—the dearth of artists after Jamesone, and the coming of Raeburn. Regarding both as subjects of special inquiry, the consideration of the intellectual and artistic constitution of the Scot, his temperament, mental predilections and taste is really beside the issue. Else, when speak-

The Appeal to History

ing of a native development of art, poetry and music cannot be overlooked, the early epics, the ballads of the old minstrels, the matchless lyrics of Scotland, and her equally unsurpassed melodies, both Celtic and Lowland. The proposition that, in spite of superficial appearances and all manner of adverse influences, the Scottish race is exceptionally rich in æsthetic discernment—that frequently-concealed exaltation of the beautiful which ultimately ensures a people's refinement—cannot be substantiated by argument. It must be rested upon facts. Scotland may be a comparatively poor market for works of art, but is she to be judged by what she buys, or by what she produces? Was not Raeburn himself a native development? That he was so goes far towards explaining his originality. Of the fertility of the soil whence he sprang let R. A. M. Stevenson speak. He compares Reynolds with Raeburn and Turner with Thomson of Duddingston (1778-1840), a contemporary of Raeburn. Conceding the English painters the greater imagination, Stevenson prefers the qualities of imagination and consequent ideas of treatment of the two Scotsmen. He continues in a fashion striking enough to startle the most stolid Scotsman out of his propriety:—

Scots Cultivation of the Arts

"Not only does Raeburn's solid square painting last better than Sir Joshua's cookery after Italian receipts, but one believes that when they were painted only the greatest pictures by Reynolds were above Raeburn's work. If Thomson had been a professional, prob-

ably he would have surpassed Turner and forestalled Theodore Rousseau. His conception of romantic landscape was grander than anything else of the sort; certainly broader and more heroic in treatment than Turner's somewhat teased and over-inventive scheme, less hampered by conscientious research than any save the finest Rousseaus. But Thomson's conception was never adequately backed by study, and so never adequately realised. Sheer fervour of imagination led Raeburn and Thomson to anticipate by thirty years the ideals of the Frenchmen."

Turner and Rev. John Thomson

"Fervour of imagination" is the distinctive stamp of the typical Scot. While Raeburn lived, Scotland was slowly emerging into a fuller life than it had previously known; Art was growing towards the light. As he neared his end, the forces moulding and directing it were chiefly English, and, in course of time, they led to Sam Bough, Fraser, and Wintour. These men all worked in the English tradition. They studied nature with Constable, Turner, Müller, and Cox.

The English Tradition

Thirty years after Raeburn, came a school of pure art, which aimed primarily at beautiful colour, tone, and perfectness of technique. That was the school of Lauder, as completely a Scottish growth as the heather on Schiehallion. To Lauder Great Britain owes the painted symphonies of Orchardson, the *bravuras* of Pettie, the Highland grandeurs of Peter Graham, the silvery grace of Macwhirter, and the subtle charm of

Chalmers. A close adherence to nature in painting landscape was the limit of pre-Lauderite endeavour; to paint a landscape which should also be a work of art was the aim of Lauder's foremost pupils. And all these men *plus* Tom Graham, the Burrs, Hugh Cameron, William McTaggart, and many more, are, every man of them, of Scots growth, training, and inspiration. The Scots genius of which they are the exponents had been crushed; when it was set free they came.

The School of Robert Scott Lauder

There is, accordingly, no meaning in speaking of Scotland's isolation, of its career not having been favourable to a native development of art, and of unknown conditions being "against the formation of a native school." The inquiry might be carried down to Robert Brough, in whom the Aberdeen line founded by George Jamesone may be said to have, for the present, culminated. These are truths to be weighed, if, as seems possible, justice must be done to his country before it can be done to Raeburn.

In any view of it, the career of Scotland, though rough at times and crossed by storms that wrought both havoc and delay, has in the end proved measurably favourable "to a native development of art." Attention must be fixed upon results. Special causes affected special periods, but their consequences have neither been so deep, nor so permanent, as to have embraced the whole people, those of every rank and every shade of religious opinion, nor so potent as to

"A Native Development of Art"

have given colour and direction to the entire career of Scotland.

The long series of religious orgies—"holy tulzies" Burns would have called them—that for successive generations vexed the domestic life of Scotland, and left many disfiguring blots and scars upon her reputation for sound judgment and reasoned self-control, did not corrupt the fibre of the national genius. They left her faculties unimpaired. Her narrow bigotry, irrational formality, and constructive Pharisaism let those lament who live above them, but they have not poisoned her blood or incurably affected the intellect of her people. The riots of zealots did not materially alter the constitutional endowments and ambitions of the race.

"Holy Tulzies"

If the lash of the Reformers touched her lethargic conscience, and opened her eyes to the necessity of cleansing clerical lives and cutting adrift both doctrinal errors and ritualistic practices which the ignorant misunderstood, it also roused the lower passions of the populace. Destruction has a charm for the proletariat. The lurking spirit of wantonness was turned to madness. Noble and preacher fanned the flame. Torn by conflicting aims and impulses, Scotland went into hysterics. The fit over, she calmly gave birth not only to Raeburn, but to the galaxy of men of genius who came with him.

To understand him and to read his career aright he must be kept to Scotland. To do so, and thereby to establish a plain biographical fact upon solid ground,

it has been shown that, being Scots, he came of a decidedly artistic race. The spirit of Jamesone re-awoke in Raeburn, and the spirit of Raeburn and Watson-Gordon animates alike Sir George Reid and Robert Brough, both, rather curiously, of Jamesone's own city. For with Raeburn and the coming of the nineteenth century there opened to Scotland a new era of deep, lasting peace, and of national development.

The Scots an Artistic Race

Leaving the modern outlook, it is necessary to descend for a space into the chasm which broke the continuity of Scottish progress, left Jamesone isolated, and reduced an immediate artistic succession to virtual impossibility. Going back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the empty darkness of which makes the background that throws Raeburn and his contemporaries into high relief, it at once becomes apparent that a true and trustworthy conclusion concerning Scots proclivities and distinctive talents can only be drawn from a free growth. No deduction of any value can be made from one that was not only temporarily checked by a sudden paralysis, but was twisted out of all semblance to its natural shape. If the material was left, the form was gone, and was not recovered until many moons had passed.

Whatever effect the Reformation may have had upon Scots religion, it certainly for a time distorted the national character, and diverted the life-blood of the mass of people from its natural channels. There must obviously have been some powerful, irresistible, and

overwhelming external force set in motion to account for the sudden and almost complete disappearance of art with Jamesone. That force was the iconoclastic spirit both animated and fostered by the Reformers. It turned back the tide of Scots civilisation a good two hundred years.

Effect of the Reformation on National Character

Even so early as 1560 the Lords Argyll, James Stuart, and Ruthven issued their mandate, in the form of a blank letter, to leading Reformers everywhere—the blank being left for the name of the kirk to be operated upon—enjoining them to pass to such kirk, to take down all its images, to bring them out to the churchyard, and to burn them openly; and in like manner to cast down the altars, and to purge the kirk of all kinds of monuments of idolatry. At the same time they were somewhat cynically told to take good care that neither the desks, doors, nor windows, whether glass or iron work, should be in any way hurt or broken. It is much easier to raise the Devil than to lay him, and the destroyers rarely stopped at altars and images, but carried their sacrilegious work through as thoroughly as at St. Andrews, where, marching "wi' hammers in their hands and spades," they "dang the cathedral doun." The crusade against Art was not limited to such of its religious forms as were applied to church decoration, or to such works as were introduced into the churches as aids to devotion, and to the realisation of the Gospel

The Work of Reforming Destruction

story. It embraced every kind of art-work, whether in church or private mansion, and was maintained at Aberdeen, Elgin, and, broadly speaking, all over the country.

The wholesale destruction of every kind of religious house was contemplated, monasteries and nunneries being included with abbeys and other places of worship. Even "colledges," which had not been turned to a better use, were with the other monuments of the older faith to be "utterly overthrown." Attention has been directed to Aberdeen, because it was Jamesone's home, and he may have seen the Master of Forbes busy at his barbarous task. As to this, Brydall says, very suggestively, that it must have seemed curious to Jamesone that so many people of different opinions should have been eager to perpetuate likenesses of themselves and their ancestors and to destroy everything in the form of art when applied to the services of the Church.

The Reformation a Devastating Tornado

The Reformation swept over Scotland like a devastating tornado. As it passed art withered. Jamesone's own appearance, when the storm was raging at its wildest, seems almost a miracle. Standing alone in the very midst of the conflict, trying single-handed to hold up the swaying light of art, he appears one of the most striking and most pathetic figures in the history of Art. He is striking in virtue of the enthusiasm which lifted him high above the brutal passions of the mob. It probably cared nothing about

religion of any kind, but rioted in destruction for destruction's sake. His devotion to art raised him equally far above the ignorant zealots who little dreamed that, in stamping out art as a pestilence, they were doing to death the most efficient handmaid of Religion, and its most potent ally. He is pathetic; for we can only imagine the sorrow he must needs have felt when he saw the infuriated Vandals despoiling the Bethels of the land, and throwing into the bonfires at cross and kirkyard priceless works of art that could never be replaced.

And if Scotland was denuded of such art as it possessed, it has been said above that the character of her people was distorted. To have said that, so far as the frenzy spread, the popular character was transformed would have been nearer the mark. That love of the beautiful which makes a national art possible seems to have been burned up with the carvings of St. Machar's and the pictures of Traquair. The character of the people "shrivelled like a parched scroll," drying up as it rolled itself into reticent introspection and mirthless brooding. The English coincidence is not quite perfect, but it is close enough to elucidate the Scots situation. The war against superstition and the idle ceremonies of the old Church compassed the destruction of both her images, says Cunningham, and all her religious paintings. "Portraiture," he adds, "survived the general wreck." It can hardly be said to have done so in Scotland, but a prior question may be raised, namely, whether the English character was

affected as deeply and as widely in a national sense as the Scots. When gaiety becomes unseemly and mirth irreverent; when the ignorant, who really worshipped the altar-pieces and images of the saints, rushed to the opposite extreme and began to look even at a portrait as a breach of the second Commandment, which forbids the making of the likeness of anything that is in the heavens above or in the earth beneath; when to admire any form of beauty came to be regarded as a sinful indulgence of sensuous pleasure; when every form of festivity and every demonstration of joy was denounced as offensive in the sight of Heaven, because inconsistent with the seriousness of a life leading inevitably to Death and Judgment; when the only attitude befitting humanity was held to be that of grieving repentance, then the springs of Art were sealed up, the æsthetic sense was frozen, and the land despondently labouring under such conditions became a Philistine wilderness. Into such a slough of slavery to ugliness did Scotland sink in the sixteenth century, and in the eighteenth the mire was still clinging to the resurrection robes she wore when the light of a new Easter dawned.

Scotland a Philistine Wilderness

CHAPTER III.

FROM JAMESONE TO RAEBURN.

The demand for Art—The bogus portraits of Holyrood—Jamesone's successors—John Scougal—Sir John Medina—William Aikman—Allan Ramsay—Art Academies—David Allan—The Trustees' Academy—Gavin Hamilton—Alexander Runciman—The Art movement in France—The rise of English landscape—The teachers in the Edinburgh School of Art—John Graham—Sir William Allan—Robert Scott Lauder—The position of Raeburn—The Stuarts and the House of Hanover—The leaders in portraiture, landscape, and *genre*.

THROUGHOUT the long period surveyed in the last chapter there was little demand for art in Scotland, and no popular demand whatever. In consequence, it well-nigh died out of the scheme of national life through sheer lack of nutrition. Between 1684 and the Revolution, mention occurs of a Flemish artist named James de Witt, who painted the Holyrood gallery of imaginary portraits of Scottish Kings, did some work in decoration and design in the palace, and was also engaged to paint portraits at the seats of a few of the Scots nobles.

No Popular Demand for Art

Jamesone had been six years in his grave before

another native portrait-painter was born. This was John Scougal or Scougall (*circa* 1650-1730). He may have been a little earlier, possibly 1645, as he appears to have been painting in 1670. Altogether he is a somewhat hazy figure. Nothing is known of his education in art, but it is fairly clear that he had a good practice in Edinburgh, and something more than a reputation in Glasgow. He lived to a patriarchal age, but, judging from his works in the Glasgow Corporation collection, he never was a painter. He never developed a style. His work is superficially highly-finished in respect of *technique,* but it is essentially small and finical, largely devoted to the elaboration of details.

Jamesone's First Native Successor

Of two other native artists of the time little is known but the names, so that they and Sir John Medina, who was a Spaniard by blood but a Fleming by both birth and art-education, may be passed slightly. Medina (1659-1710) no doubt spent the greater part of his life in Scotland, but his practice being almost wholly restricted to portraits of the nobility—he is credited with having painted one-half of the nobles of Scotland—he worked apart from the main current of national life. The time had not come for rearing a native Scots art. The period which embraced all the pre-Revolutionary troubles, the downfall of the Stuarts, the subsequent settlement of the country under the new dynasty, an irritating complication of religious anta-

From Scougal to William Aikman, 1682-1731

gonisms, and the Jacobite outbreak of 1715, was not one for establishing any form of art. Medina flourished in the obscurity of noble houses, but Art was under a ban, which was not lifted for nearly a century after the close of his career. There seem to have been three generations of Medinas who practised painting, but the second and third are of slight account.

Thomas Murray (1666-1724) went to London, and became rich by painting portraits of sitters of high degree, including the Royal Family. He was Scots, but so far as influencing Scots art is concerned, or planting in his native land a new art upon the ruins of the first, he might, like Medina, have belonged to any foreign land. He was followed, both in point of time and in the choice of a sphere of life and practice, by Joseph Michael Wright, who lived towards the close of the seventeenth century. Of John Alexander (1690-1760) little is known with certainty: he lived, painted portraits, and died, and made no mark. The existing portraits from his brush have no distinctive quality. They are the work of a capable mechanic, and recall the earlier period when a painter was classed with other artisans.

It is, in fact, necessary to go well into the eighteenth century before feeling a breath of the coming spring. William Aikman (1682-1731) was contemporary with Alexander, and coming of a good family in Angus was also born with a decided artistic faculty. He was partial to poetry, but his heart was set upon painting. When a man is found selling off an inherited estate in

order to gratify his artistic instincts, by undertaking a course of arduous study of art, as preliminary to its practice, he is giving indubitable proof of possessing genius of some sort and degree. That was Aikman's course. The price of the ancestral property enabled him to study in Rome, whence, after travelling in the East, he returned to Scotland, and in 1712 dropped into Sir John Medina's place in Edinburgh. Going to London after eleven years' trial of the northern capital, he was at once admitted to the literary and artistic society of that brilliant period, and became acquainted with, amongst others, Sir Godfrey Kneller. Aikman was apparently in great demand. He appears to have been a moderately capable painter, whose taste was superior to his executive ability. In any event, studying in Rome, and afterwards coming in contact chiefly with the artists of London, Aikman stands apart from the Scottish line. The remark applies equally to John Smibert (1684-1751), whose career, erratic but fortunate, need not be inquired into.

Allan Ramsay, the Poet's Artist Son

Leaving the group which began with Scougal and closed with Smibert, whose lives bind the two centuries together, the eighteenth century is entered with Allan Ramsay, son of the poet of *The Gentle Shepherd*. He was born in 1713, and, dying in 1784, must have been gladdened by the illuminating glow of the Scots Renaissance. That Ramsay was a born artist may be inferred from his having taken to drawing when a boy of twelve. About 1734 he studied for a

time in London under a Swede named Hyssing or Hans Huzssing, and also at the Academy in St. Martin's Lane. In 1736 he went the way of all painters, and for three years worked in Rome. On his return he resided for a time in Edinburgh, and painted a few noteworthy portraits, including the Glasgow Corporation Duke of Argyll in his judge's robes as Lord of Session. Ultimately he went to London and attained to success and eminence, if not greatness. The favours of fortune reached their climax when George III., in 1767, appointed Ramsay portrait-painter to the Court. After that he employed five assistants—including a Scots painter, David Martin, of whom we shall hear more by-and-by—and declined into the position of a portrait-manufacturer.

A Portrait Manufactory

A favourite of the King and Queen, Ramsay achieved far greater success in society than in art. He was a clever author, well-informed, a good linguist, a vivacious and agreeable companion, and exceptionally well-versed in politics. He was, indeed, so much of a *dilettante* as to draw upon himself a suspicion of having but a cold regard for Art, and of being more anxious to be deemed an accomplished scholar, and a man of fine taste and understanding, than a good painter. The special work upon which it is based gives critical opinion of Ramsay its only value. It is obvious that, after 1767, when he started his picture factory, no portrait nominally by Ramsay can with any degree of certainty be considered his, or be held to supply the measure of his power.

Sir Henry Raeburn, R.A.

It is highly probable that the bulk of critical *dicta* upon him—those of Walpole, Reynolds, Northcote, and Cunningham—rested upon his "factory" work, and that none of the several critics had ever seen a *pur et simple* Ramsay, such as he executed in his Scots or pre-London period. Judging him by his works in Glasgow and Edinburgh, he neither sank deep nor rose very high. He has, in fact, been described as a man of sound sense, without one spark of genius; and to the description there is the addendum that "plain sense alone does not make an artist." His critic knows no picture by him deserving superlative praise. His portrait of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke is put down as "conscientious, literal, inartistic." His "Flora Macdonald" is severely said to have been painted with a brutality of hand that would have done credit to an executioner. His portrait of himself is interpreted as that of a plain, honest sort of man, apparently incapable of making a great mark or doing much mischief. This is not far from the mean where critical justice is often found, but it is unnecessarily damnatory. Ramsay carried a high type of mediocrity bravely, and very nearly succeeded in making it pass for genius.

A Critic of Allan Ramsay

Present interest in Ramsay lies in his having been, in one view, the forerunner of Raeburn. He was not, in any real sense, representative of Scots art, but between him and Raeburn no other artist arose to lift art to a higher level in popular esteem. None appeared to secure for it the position in popular regard of a pursuit

which called into play the higher faculties and attainments of its followers—refinement, taste, culture, deep thought, quick perception, vitalising imagination, and trained skill. There was movement, but it had no prominent personal centre. It was like the nameless stirring of the life of an awakening world before the sun is up.

The Glasgow Foulis Academy and its Scholars

In 1753 the brothers Foulis opened their Art Academy in Glasgow, and chief among their pupils were David Allan, James Tassie, and Alexander Runciman. Allan (1744-96) was the founder of Scottish *genre*, and Wilkie's guide to that branch of art. He is perhaps most widely known by his illustrations of Allan Ramsay and Burns, and by the references to him in the correspondence of the latter. He studied and practised in Rome for eleven years, and subsequently passed two years in London, where we find him exhibiting in the Academy in 1777. In 1786 he followed Runciman as Master of the Trustees' Academy in Edinburgh. His portraits are laboured, arbitrary in colour, and stiff. James Tassie was not a painter, but reproduced engraved gems and made paste medallions.

In 1755 the Edinburgh Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Sciences, and Manufactures was founded. By premiums and prizes it lent a slight stimulus to drawing and design, and seems to have thrown up its self-appointed mission after five or six years' trial. As it went down, the Board of Trustees for Manufactures opened their Academy of Design—usually called the

Trustees' Academy—in 1760, and in time secured several able artists as masters. It was a participating factor in the art-movement which more visibly stirred Scotland a few decades after its foundation. Present mention of it serves, with the Foulis Academy and the Edinburgh Society, to give intelligible and concrete form to the agencies which cleared the way for Raeburn, and served to bring about the later Scots revival of art and letters. The supply of the means of art-education at the two chief centres of population must needs be construed as indicating the existence of some sort of a demand. It may not have been for high art, but that it took any kind of articulate shape is sufficient evidence of Scotland's emergence from apathy. On all sides, in fact, and in varied forms, a national art was germinating, and showing here a healthy shoot and there a promising bud. The genius of the Scots people was reasserting itself.

The Edinburgh Trustees' Academy

Demand for Education in Art

In the latter half of the eighteenth century Gavin Hamilton was working out his classical imaginings in Rome. He painted a few portraits in Scotland, and at least one picture from Scottish history—"Mary, Queen of Scots, resigning her Crown"—but by his fondness for Rome, his Homeric and other classic themes, and later by his antiquarian researches, he was practically lost to his own country. He was always willing, however, to receive and guide such Scottish artists as went accredited to him in Rome. Raeburn will be seen here-

after as one of those who benefited by Hamilton's counsel and courtesy. He died in 1797. Similar in his life was another Scottish artist, Jacob More, who was born in Edinburgh about 1740, and spent the greater part of his life in Rome. He painted landscape, and died there in 1793. Yet another whose life was passed in foreign lands—Italy, Russia, and Prussia—was Charles Cunningham. He painted history, and appears to have died in Berlin in 1789. Alexander Runciman (1736-85) painted both history and romance —finding subjects in the Bible, in Homer, Shakespeare, Scots history, and Ossian. According to Brydall, his art resembled that of Fuseli, but was far superior in colour, and "it has been stated that Raeburn took his tone of colour from Runciman's portraits, which are remarkable for their simple dignity and truth." This is the first suggestion hitherto encountered that Raeburn may have had a Scots pedigree as artist. John Runciman (1744-68), a younger brother of Alexander, gave assured promise of genius, but was cut off in early manhood.

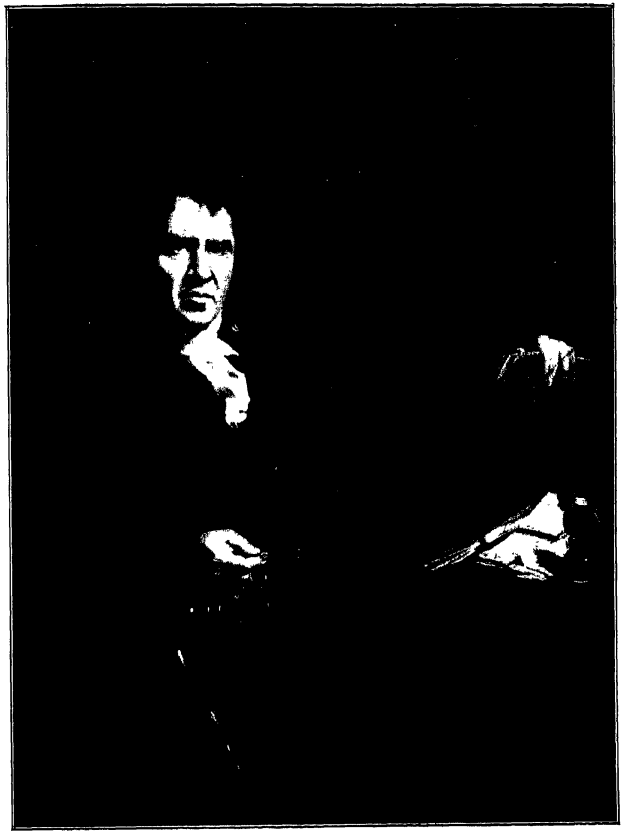
Gavin Hamilton and the Runcimans

With John Donaldson (1737-1801) and David Martin (1737-98) we touch Raeburn. About the time now reached engraving, architecture, and sculpture were also seeking recognition, and a number of painters were carrying forward the work of the brush. The names of Kay, Burnet, W. H. Lizars, and Walter Geikie must suffice to show that art was gradually acquiring a firm foothold. It again touched poetry—after their union in

the hands of David Allan—when Beugo was engraving Nasmyth's portrait of Robert Burns, and at the same time forming a lasting friendship with the poet. What in times of prosperity would probably be called versatility was, as the century wore on, really nothing more than resourcefulness in battling with poverty and averting privation. Many artists of that period—Burnet, Lizars, Geikie, and others—wielded both the graver and the brush, but none of them was strong enough to raise art to the high and assured position it reached before the century closed. They are, nevertheless, wrapped round with the romantic interest of pioneers.

The Eighteenth Century Movement in France

A widespread movement was now to begin which touched Scotland from the outside, and combined with internal forces to rouse it to full activity. Dates are here full of meaning, and eloquent of a wider æsthetic awakening than that implied in the phrase the Scots Renaissance. Looking to France, the men who linked the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries together included Lagrenée (1724-1805), Greuze (1725-1805), Fragonard (1732-1806), Horace Vernet (1789-1863), Corot (1796-1875). Fragonard is classed with the school of Watteau, but in spirit he was not of it. He struck at times a stronger, deeper note, as realising the hollowness of the life of France in the eighteenth century. With Corot the *fêtes galantes* of Watteau went out, and a form of landscape came in which expressed a more romantic sentimentalism, and possessed a subtler artistic charm.



John Clerk, Lord Eldin (p. 80).

The English Landscape School

In England, Richard Wilson lived almost year by year with the Scots Allan Ramsay; Reynolds lived and died exactly a decade after Wilson, the latter living 1713-82, the former 1723-92. The new movement did not declare itself until George Morland appeared (1763-1804), and shortly after him the group of masters came together who illuminated the first half of the nineteenth century—Turner (1775-1851), Constable (1776-1837), Cox (1783-1859), de Wint (1784-1849), Etty (1787-1849), Linnell (1792-1882), and with them were Westall, Shee, Barrett, Varley, and many others. An English school of landscape was founded which compelled the world's attention. It came without warning, and could have been expected by none. Its founders, moreover, sprang into view as fully equipped as Minerva. Wilson, no doubt, did praiseworthy work in landscape, although following in the wake of Claude and the Italians, and too strong insistence cannot be laid upon the originality, delicious colour, and refinement—"the charm"—of Gainsborough, but they cannot be said to have foreshadowed Constable and Turner. The latter, with the other landscape-painters enumerated, rose suddenly above the horizon in one resplendent constellation. They had no artistic ancestry, and have had no rival successors; but as their living influence was boundless, their reign is not yet over.

The English School of Landscape

Let the corresponding movement in Scotland next be noted. The circumstance is suggestive of the dearth of native-trained talent that, when the Trustees'

Academy was opened in 1760, its first and second masters were Frenchmen. William Delacour, a portrait-painter, and a follower of Watteau in his decorative style, held the appointment from 1760 to 1767, and was followed by Pavillon, who held it down to 1771. They were little more than drawing-masters, and discharged the duties of the mastership in the most perfunctory manner. Having no enthusiasm, they gave out no inspiration.

The Art-Teachers of Edinburgh

Pavillon was succeeded by Alexander Runciman, the first of the line of Scots teachers. Neither Runciman, however, nor his immediate successors gave any evidence of either a desire to improve the methods followed in the school, or of their possession of such organizing faculty as might have led them to take the initiative in remodelling the system of teaching and increasing its efficiency. They conducted the Academy upon mechanical lines, and seemingly did nothing to kindle a feeling for the beautiful in the students or to raise the standard of taste.

The first master demonstrably possessed of the true artistic spirit, and of a born teacher's infectious zeal, was John Graham, who conducted the classes from 1798 to 1817. He added oil-painting to the drawing of ornament and decorative design, began the formation of a collection of casts from the antique, and was thus the first to nurse a native art, and to exercise a real and enduring influence upon the art-education of the country. Andrew Wilson added to the casts and other-

wise prepared recruits for the Scottish Academy—founded in 1826, now the Royal Scottish Academy—and Sir William Allan formed a life class in 1832. To give practical point to what has been said of John Graham, it may be noted that amongst his pupils were Sir David Wilkie, Sir William Allan and Sir John Watson-Gordon. Their genius was, at least, essentially Scots, and while in his choice of *genre* Wilkie was affected by Scots models, the art-education of all three was grounded in Scotland.

From Delacour to Robert Scott Lauder

Of all who held the mastership of the Trustees' Academy, the greatest as a teacher and as a distinct and powerful artistic force, was undoubtedly Robert Scott Lauder. But it must be borne in mind that Lauder's most highly-gifted pupils—Orchardson, Pettie, G. P. Chalmers, McTaggart, the Grahams, Burrs, Cameron, Macwhirter — belonged to a much later generation than those of Graham. The latter bore the burden and heat of the day, organizing as well as teaching; at Lauder's advent Art had a more or less definite position in the plan of cultured life. To estimate aright the work done by the Academy, and by the men who made it a living force, it must not, accordingly, be looked at backwards from its prolific prime, but forwards from its struggling infancy under Graham. That should be remembered to Scotland's credit which Sir Noël Paton said of the Academy in 1876—that it was the proto-

Sir Noël Paton and the Trustees' Academy

type of all the schools in the United Kingdom founded for the art-education of the people, in connection with national manufactures, and the first where a collection of casts from classic and mediæval art was brought together as the basis of education in design. The further fact is also to be kept in mind that the doors of the Trustees' Academy were opened within four years of Raeburn's birth.

He was one of a body which it is almost impossible to regard as nothing more than the coincident counterpart of those who came contemporaneously into view in France and England. There appears to have been a general revival in North-Western Europe, which attained its fullest force in the artist-groups defined above. Holding Allan Ramsay, although Scots by birth, an alien in training and an exotic in art, none is included with the following whom Scotland may not claim as wholly her own:—Sir Henry Raeburn, R.A. (1756-1823), Alexander Nasmyth (1758-1840), George Watson, *P.*R.S.A. (1767-1837), Rev. John Thomson, *H.*R.S.A. (1778-1840), Sir William Allan, *P.*R.S.A., R.A. (1782-1850), Sir David Wilkie, R.A. (1785-1841), Patrick Nasmyth (1787-1831), and Sir John Watson-Gordon, *P.*R.S.A., R.A. (1788-1864). A number of other capable artists, including Andrew Geddes, John Graham Gilbert, and Colvin Smith, came into view as the century waned, but those named are sufficient to give a distinctive mark to their generation. It is further remarkable that their age is also that of

The Men of the Scots Renaissance

Burns, Scott, and Carlyle, the giants of Literature, as Raeburn and his contemporaries were leaders in Art. This, too, is noteworthy, that Scots art did not come in fragmentary sections but as a complete organism. Portraiture reached its highest point—not yet passed—in Raeburn and Watson-Gordon; the *genre* of David Allan was carried forward by Wilkie, the elder Fraser (1786-1865), Carse, Burnet, and others; the history-painting instituted by Alexander Runciman was continued by John Graham, Wilkie, Sir William Allan, and others; while the landscape-painting of which the versatile Alexander Nasmyth is called the Father, was practised upon a far loftier plane by the artist-pastor of Duddingston.

The Position of Henry Raeburn

A second group left a deep impress upon the first half of the nineteenth century—Robert Scott Lauder, R.S.A., Horatio Macculloch, R.S.A., Thomas Duncan, R.S.A., A.R.A., Sir George Harvey, *P.*R.S.A., and Sir Daniel Macnee, *P.*R.S.A. Like the first, it included painters of history, landscape, and portraits; but a fact more directly pertinent to the subject of the course taken by Scots art, in the special branch of portraiture, is that there has been no break in the line of descent from Raeburn and Watson-Gordon to Guthrie and Brough.

In a moderately wide retrospect, the position of Raeburn is now made clear. When he came, the spirit of reforming iconoclasm had spent itself, but not before the seeds of a curiously contradictory form of intoler-

ance had been sown. The farther advance of religious thought was barred, or thought to be barred, by dogma. Wearied by argument and the battling of creeds, the otherwise progressive Scot sought a resting-place in an imported creed, and a form of Church government devised in Geneva. Always ready to advance in other directions, he became rigidly conservative in theology, and all that pertained to the Reformed or renovated Kirk. Though naturally one of the children of light, he even tried to stifle inquiry and clip the wings of thought, that he might escape the confusing wrangle of debate and the unrest of questioning doubt. Like Job, he longed for rest; he constructed intricate standards that he might have something to cling to, and did not realise the price at which he was negotiating the purchase of religious peace.

Progress, happily, was maintained in other fields of thought and endeavour, especially in education. Jacobite romance was abandoned for Hanoverian prose. As the last of the Stuarts died, the last of the obnoxious penal laws was repealed. The storms of politics and dialectics were stilled, and the Scottish nation wisely decided to settle down, to cultivate material prosperity under the Georges, and in the more perfect enjoyment of a fuller political freedom to take more complete advantage of its partnership in a United Kingdom. If the self-denying ordinances of the Church tended to repress any impulse towards a return to innocent pleasures, and to delay the re-awakening of the love of beauty natural to the people, they forced a way apart

from the church. And the result was, that the energies of the race broke through their artificial barriers, and brought about the magnificent outburst of every kind of intellectual and artistic activity to which the name has here been given of the Scottish Renaissance. Burns was born three years after Raeburn, and Colvin Smith in the same year as Carlyle. The uneasy fevers of polemics, sectarian rancours, and dynastic antagonisms passed away, and were followed by saner and more productive energy in literature and the arts. A place was cleared for Raeburn, Thomson, and Wilkie. They reached, moreover, an eminence no Scot had previously known in their respective walks in Art.

CHAPTER IV.

RAEBURN'S FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE.

Effect of the Scots revival—The southern exodus—Home-staying artists—Scots element in painting and literature—Raeburn of Border stock—The Tweeddale property of Raeburn—The Raeburns in the olden time—Robert Raeburn, the painter's grandfather—A Stockbridge manufacturer—Robert's marriage—Birth of Henry on 4th March 1756—His brother William—Death of both parents—Heriot's Hospital—What he did there—Stolen attempts at drawing—Leaves Heriot's in 1771.

SCOTLAND'S emergence from the long night of sectarian war affected Raeburn in two ways. Art rapidly assumed the position it has since held as an instrument of culture and pleasure, so that, although the exodus of artists to London has never ceased, a wide and not infertile field was gradually opened up to those who remained at home. Peace brought the material rewards of industry; the moral qualities of the people found various outlets; and as wealth increased, it courted the companionship of art and art-created beauty.

The Rise of Art

Wilkie, indeed, sought a wider life and ampler scope in London, but the almost unbroken earlier rule came to have many exceptions. Between Scougal and



Lady Raeburn (p. 83).

Raeburn nearly every Scots painter of note went to London, or Rome, or elsewhere on the Continent Whether resulting from prejudice, ambition to enter a more extensive field, a desire to be nearer the main currents and greater markets of art, or the sheer lack of living practice at home, hardly a single prominent artist settled in Scotland. A marked change set in with the Scots Revival. Although Raeburn at one time contemplated setting up his easel in London, the majority of those who brought the eighteenth century to a close, and of those who ushered in the nineteenth, decided to abide by Scotland. It is highly probable that they were affected both by the spirit and by the success of those who were building a Scottish literature.

Effect of Revival on Southern Exodus of Artists

Art grew independently of both Kirk and State. The Kirk could not give it any patronage; the State did not. Scotland herself became the patron of such of her sons as loyally dedicated their art to her, in the illustration of her natural features, her domestic life, and her history. The Renaissance was the beginning of a new lease of strictly national life. What followed it constituted a virtual declaration of both organic and racial independence long after the Union. The Scot still lived within the Briton.

Burns and Scott, no doubt, did much to turn back upon herself any imperial sympathies and aspirations Scotland may have been disposed to indulge. They kept alive the popular consciousness of possessing a

separate and self-contained individuality amongst the nations. If by preference and in consideration of self-interest Allan Ramsay was an Anglophile, Raeburn kept his affection for Scotland. His men and women, being mostly typical of Scots manhood and womanhood, make a gallery of his portraits as distinctly Scots in subject and portrayal of character as those of Rembrandt are Dutch, or those of Velasquez Spanish, or those of Titian Italian.

Assertion of Scots Nationality

Wilkie was originally as thoroughly Scots as Ostade and Jan Steen were Dutch, or as Teniers was Flemish. When Sir George Harvey turned to history, he took no classic theme, but was content to give form to the tragedy and romance of the Covenant. Drummond was equally tenacious in his adherence to Scottish history, and Thomas Duncan hardly less so. These three, Harvey, Drummond, and Duncan, came a little later than Sir William Allan, but they only followed his lead. He painted "The Murder of Archbishop Sharp," "John Knox admonishing Queen Mary," "The Battle of Prestonpans," and he died in front of the easel on which stood his unfinished "Battle of Bannockburn."

The Scots Element in Letters and Art

When Alexander Nasmyth died in 1840, Sir David Wilkie wrote to his widow: "He was the founder of the landscape school of painting of Scotland, and has for many years taken a lead in the patriotic aim of enriching his native land with the representations

of her romantic scenery." Born in 1758, Nasmyth was almost exactly contemporary with Raeburn, and did for landscape what Raeburn did for portraiture, and Wilkie for *genre*. Twenty years after Nasmyth came Thomson, who hardly ever left Scottish scenery. In their track, but greatly influenced by the romances and ballads of Sir Walter Scott, Horatio Macculloch followed. Together these men made a landscape tradition, but it was founded in the pronounced artistic Scots nationalism of Nasmyth and Thomson. In the front rank of these makers of a Scots art stands Raeburn.

Sir Henry Raeburn was of Border descent, his forefathers probably taking their name from the hill-farm of Raeburn. This led Sir Henry to call himself a "Raeburn of that ilk." The property ultimately passed to the Scotts. It is commonly placed in Annandale, but it appears to have been farther east, in Tweeddale. Morrison (*Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*) mentions it in his *Reminiscences*. He was on familiar terms with several of the celebrities of his time, including Scott and Hogg, and tells of Sir Walter's reference to a field near Selkirk—"There, a relation of my own, a Scott of Raeburn, fought a duel." Again he says, "On a ride with Sir Walter Scott to call on his relation, Mr. Scott of Raeburn, we visited the Eildon Tree." Scott was then at Abbotsford, and Morrison's notes leave little doubt that Raeburn must be looked for in that direction. Andrew describes it as a hill-farm in Annandale, "still [1886] held by Sir

Walter Scott's kinsfolk." There may have been two Raeburns, but that both passed to Sir Walter's relatives is improbable.

The Border Family and Property of Raeburn

On Sir Henry's shield, his great-grandson William Raeburn Andrew says, is a *rae* or roe-deer drinking from a *burn* or rivulet running at its feet. The crest is a roe's head, with the motto *Robur in Deo*. The earlier Raeburns are described by their descendant as rieving pastoral lairds. They probably did as their neighbours did, and followed the Border fashion in their methods of supplying the larder and replenishing byres and herds when beeves went scarce, and the customary pair of spurs was set before the laird for breakfast. The accounts of them differ very slightly. If their habits were predatory, and they raided all round, levying supplies from their neighbours on both sides of the Border, then Cunningham—and he is followed almost *verbatim* by Andrew—indulges in a euphemism when he describes them as husbandmen in peace and soldiers in war, until the union of the Crowns brought the days of disorder to a close. They are then supposed to have laid their armour and weapons aside, and to have peacefully cultivated the ground through succeeding generations.

Rievers, Soldiers, and Farmers

In another account the Raeburns figure as a family distinguished in the Scottish wars, worthily winning the honours of knighthood, and intermarrying with other families of equal station in the scale of Border

rank. The Scottish wars referred to are presumably those with England, but the whole story is enveloped in doubt. However they may have borne themselves in Border warfare, and whatever honours they may have won, the Raeburns only emerged from obscurity with Sir Henry. He reached a higher fame with brush and mahlstick than his ancestors ever did with sword and spear.

The family was nearing the confines of history when, early in the eighteenth century, Robert Raeburn decided to give up farming for manufacturing, and left the undulating uplands of the Border for the neighbourhood of the capital. He appears to have been a young unmarried man, with a full endowment of Scots energy and of ambition to "get on." It is probable that he turned the Tweeddale property and stock into money for investment in his new venture. Anyhow, we find him beginning some kind of milling or manufacturing at Stockbridge, then an outlying suburb but now incorporated with the capital. Andrew adopts Cunningham's inexact statement that Robert commenced manufacturer and became the proprietor of mills. The nature of their output is not stated.

From Farming to Manufacturing

Stockbridge was probably selected by Robert that he might avail himself of the power supplied by the Water of Leith and of the market offered by Edinburgh. It is easily reached from Princes Street by any of the thoroughfares westwards of Hanover Street, leading

towards the north. It is entered by a bridge across the Water of Leith, which divides the old suburb from the city. Robert's mill was in all likelihood in the neighbourhood of the bridge. But the most attractive view of Stockbridge is to be had from Dean Bridge, on the road to Dalmeny and Queensferry. Following the course of the burn on its way to the Firth of Forth, the spectator cannot fail to be impressed by the varied beauties of the prospect, and he will notice on the bank of the stream St. Bernard's Well, one of the surviving landmarks of the old Raeburn property.

Stockbridge and the Raeburn Mills

The view is well worth looking at in breadth and detail, for it holds both Raeburn's birthplace and the playground of his boyhood. Of Stockbridge itself, moreover, the very existence is a colossal biographical fact. In all its essentials of building and plan, in its original form as Raeburn left it, the suburb is as much his creation as one of his portraits. The later streets radiate from the Raeburn centre, and make an architectural fringe to the Raeburn property. It is also worthy of note that Ann Street, so-called by Sir Henry as a compliment to Lady Raeburn, has literary associations of its own, "Christopher North," De Quincey, and others having had their homes there.

The whole district is interesting, and has a definite place in the story of Raeburn's life. A few of the minor streets are poor enough, but others, like St. Bernard's Crescent and those contiguous to it, are substantial and

handsome, and offer quiet retreats to the studious, and to professional men, artists and others. Whatever the exact site of Robert Raeburn's establishment, there are two reasons for assuming that he prospered. It will be observed that Cunningham speaks of him as having become the proprietor, not of a mill, but of mills. In the next place he married a lady named Ann Elder. Of Robert little is known beyond Cunningham's statement that he was a most worthy man; and of the mother of the painter the only quality mentioned by the same author is her tenderness. They had two sons—William, born about 1744, and Henry, born on the 4th of March 1756.

Birth of Henry

The morning of the sons' lives was clouded. About the time when the kingdom was entering upon the long and fateful reign of George III. loss fell upon the Raeburn household. For, first, Robert died, and then his widow. Left orphans at an age when parental guidance is most needed, the two boys were called upon to face the world together. William had apparently been taught something of his father's business and its management, as, although only a youth of sixteen or eighteen, he is said to have continued it. That his character was of the strongest is abundantly clear. It was sound in principle and tough in fibre. To manly courage, self-reliance, and resourcefulness in emergency he united that regard for the sanctity of the family tie and warm-heartedness which led him to care for Henry with the affection of a brother

The Raeburn Orphans at Home

and the solicitude of a parent. He was father, mother, and brother in one.

Cunningham mentions the intervention of friends, and it is quite possible that, touched by the position of the two youngsters, they may have offered William counsel and influence. Feeling in his inexperience the burden of business, he could not have had much spare energy to bestow upon domestic affairs, even upon Henry. It was accordingly decided to find a temporary home for him. The matter was easily arranged. The wealth devoted to the upbringing and training of the unprotected young in methods of self-help is one of Edinburgh's distinctions. The benevolence of men like Heriot, Donaldson, Stewart, and the Watsons has been royally munificent and wisely directed. The Hospitals of their founding are amongst the brightest and most honourable, as well as the stateliest and most beautiful ornaments of the city, and in more than one instance they have proved nurseries of genius. It was a red-letter day in the life of Henry Raeburn when he was taken from Stockbridge to the south side of Edinburgh, and placed in the Hospital in Lauriston which bears the name of George Heriot, Scott's "Jingling Geordie." He was then nine years of age.

Henry goes to Heriot's Hospital

At this point it is necessary to correct an error which was allowed to slip into the short sketch of Raeburn in Chambers's *Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen*. The anonymous writer says: "It has been represented by some of Sir Henry's biographers . . . that



The Binning Boys (p. 90).

At Heriot's Hospital

he received his education at Heriot's Hospital, a well-known and benevolent institution in Edinburgh; but this is not the fact, his brother William having with heartfelt satisfaction given him the scanty but usual education of the period." There is no doubt of William's willingness and pecuniary ability to provide for Henry's education. The only question is one of opportunity and prudence. The endowment of Heriot's Hospital was intended to meet exactly such a case as that of Henry Raeburn, and that he was a "Heriotty" is a certainty.

The evidence is given at first-hand by Sir Walter Armstrong. Dr. William Steven, who, in addition to being the historian of Heriot's Hospital, was House Governor and Inspector of the Heriot Foundation Schools, states that a man named Sandilands had purchased from the governors the right of presenting two boys to be maintained and educated in the Hospital. The father's privilege passed to his daughter, Sarah Sandilands, and she, says Dr. Steven, "was the early patroness of Sir Henry Raeburn, whom she presented to Heriot's Hospital in 1764. This orphan boy, who afterwards became the celebrated portrait-painter, her grand-daughter (Mrs. Durham Weir) had the pleasure of seeing knighted by George IV. at Hopetoun House." Dr. Steven wrote upon the authority of the minutes of the Hospital Board. According to them the governors held a meeting on the 15th of April 1765, at which a presentation was laid before them "granted by Sarah Sandilands, relict of Thomas Durham of Boghead, in

favour of Henry, son of Robert Raeburn, Burgess and Freeman, whose parents are both dead." The last clause shows that the governors were not performing an act of charity. The Hospital came in place of the boy's home, and its teachers and managers in that of his parents. The governors accordingly granted Henry formal admission to the Hospital.

His Career at Heriot's

Of his career there only a broad and general outline is given. He had no skill in the classics; perhaps his taste did not lie in that direction. But he received an education which enabled him afterwards to maintain on equal terms a lifelong intercourse with men of letters, and fitted him both for studio-association with sitters of learning and rank and for the social position which he rose to command. He must also have been at least grounded in good manners. Afterwards, in any case, he always bore himself in society like a gentleman of the old school.

In doing the task-work of the school he acquitted himself as other boys did. He was neither very dull, says Cunningham, nor very bright. He possessed no distinctive intellectual faculty above the average, and does not appear to have been in any way touched with the precocity occasionally betrayed by genius. Too great importance need not be attached to stories of his alleged superiority over his class-mates in stolen efforts in drawing—that, for example, when the scholars drew figures on their slates or copy-books, those of Raeburn surpassed them all. Similar statements appear in

other artists' Lives. They may be true, but they may also be imagined inferences from the ascertained facts of future years. The saying is attributed to Raeburn himself that some of his companions at Heriot's became the closest friends of later life. In his early years, his nature is described as open and sincere, and though his temper was quick, it never gave permanent offence or estranged a friend.

There is nothing to mark the passing years, and 1770 is reached before Raeburn's name came again before the Hospital governors. On the 4th of June they "approved of the report of the visiting committee, dated the sixteenth of May last, finding that Henry Raeburn and Francis Ronaldson, for their skill in writing, etc., were best entitled to the benefits of Dean of Guild Heriot's Mortification, and appointed the Treasurer of the Hospital to make payment to each of these Boys of the sum of One pound five shillings sterling." A year later, Raeburn was again accorded a similar reward. He had then been six or seven years in Heriot's—the exact time depending upon whether he entered on Sarah Sandilands's presentation or on formal admission by the authorities—and he left it at the age of fifteen.

Leaves Heriot's at the Age of Fifteen—1771

CHAPTER V.

THE CALL TO ART.

Henry not precocious—A goldsmith's apprentice—The home-life—The country round Stockbridge—The outlook from Heriot's—Gilliland's workshop and locality—The stirring of Art—Painting miniatures—Guesses at Raeburn's education in Art—Native intelligence and tuition.

IT has been stated that Raeburn did not attract attention by betraying any symptoms of precocity. They may, of course, have merely escaped observation, but it is more likely that the circumstance is chiefly due to the discipline of Heriot's and the scant opportunity given for the unauthorised display of an awakening gift. Whatever unshaped feelings he may have experienced, Raeburn was, in any event, rather backward than precocious in evincing a recognisable genius for art.

Raeburn Backward rather than Precocious

Taken from school at the age of fifteen, the momentous question of a profession or calling had first to be settled. It is pointedly recorded that his genius did not decide for him. He had, in other words, no clear preference. Ultimately he fixed upon the industrial art of

Apprenticed to a Goldsmith

a goldsmith, and was accordingly apprenticed to Mr. Gilliland, who had reached a certain eminence in the business, and whose shop is located by Chambers in a dark alley which ran between Parliament Square and the front of the Old Tolbooth.

The home-life of Raeburn from infancy to manhood is a total blank. While his parents were alive, assuming that they lived in Stockbridge, and the probability is that they did, the boy had a delightful playground in the immediate vicinity of his home. All about the country is beautiful, from Corstorphine Hill in the south-west down to the beach at Granton on the Firth of Forth, some three miles away in the north-west. Long after Raeburn's day the way to Granton was by Black's Entry, a country road more nearly resembling a quiet lane of rural England than a highway of Scotland. For many years after Raeburn's death the district retained its charm of rustic life and freedom for youngsters, even those of his then tender age, who were given to holiday-roaming. By the light of imagination we may see him in his rambles by loch, hedgerow, and quarry—all within a radius of two miles—but he would certainly have been a more real figure could we have had but a glimpse of him shouting after the Queensferry four-in-hand, or invading the policies of Craigcrook, not yet tenanted by Jeffrey.

The Boy's Home-life and Playground

When taken to Heriot's, he had, outside the Hospital grounds, the Meadows and Bruntsfield Links close at

hand, and all the country southwards, now largely given over to villadom, as far as the Braid Hills and Liberton. Towards the east he was within easy reach of the King's Park, could climb the precipitous front of Salisbury Craigs, and even the leonine summit of Arthur's Seat. He could make the round of St. Margaret's, Dunsappie, and Duddingston lochs, and, in passing, look in at the old village where a good many years later (1805) the Rev. John Thomson began his ministerial work.

How Edinburgh Looked to the Young Goldsmith

It must be assumed that, when he took to goldsmithing, Henry lived with his brother at St. Bernard's House, Stockbridge. If so, in his daily walk to Gilliland's in the Luckenbooths, close by St. Giles's Church, he traversed the site of the rapidly-growing New Town. Its eastern part, in the neighbourhood of St. James's Square and the old Theatre Royal, had been built, but the ancient town was still the city, and Raeburn looked upon a widely-different scene from that presented by the Edinburgh of the twentieth century. In his youth, Raeburn's Edinburgh was almost all to the south of the ravine (then a lake) dividing the Castle from Calton Hill; a piled-up mass of many-storeyed buildings carried down the ridge running from the Castle to Holyrood Palace. In the midst of it was the place of his daily labour, and here in the dark alley aforesaid art found him. Whatever he may have previously felt or thought, at Gilliland's he became fully conscious of an im-

pelling desire and a special gift of expression. It may be that, remembering his sketches at school, Raeburn resumed them in the form of caricatures of his companions, and continued trifling with art until, gradually assuming better and worthier forms, it became a serious pursuit.

The Coming of Art

Was his art spontaneous or due to external suggestion? Andrew thinks the former, Cunningham the latter. There is no reason why it may not have been partly both, example touching a dormant faculty to active life. Why should the promptings of his everyday work be ignored? Gilliland is described as jeweller as well as goldsmith, and both branches of his craft were eminently adapted to training the taste of his apprentice. More than that, design and ornament called for draughtsmanship. Nothing more was necessary to stimulate to productive action the natural gift which Raeburn possessed.

Trained in Design and Drawing

It is admittedly in no case easy to reach the first manifestation of the artist-nature. To some the faculty comes like another sense. They know nothing of its coming, and can neither remember nor imagine themselves without it. Others can recall a time of unrest, when they seemed to labour in travail under an uneasy burden of inexpressible, because unshaped, feeling and inarticulate thought. They can also very often recall some special circumstance or incident, seemingly accidental and often trifling, which guided them to a means of relief. Almost invariably they began to

imitate in drawing the things they saw. In such fashion art is rooted in realism. A naturalistic motive is the first inspiration.

To Raeburn art must have come with exceptional directness. If less extensive, Edinburgh was more self-contained than it is now. It was gradually approaching the zenith of its career as "the modern Athens," a recognised centre of literature, education, and very soon of art. It was, to all intents and purposes, the capital of a distinct, though not a separate, country. It was also a patron of various forms of art. Considering Raeburn's age at the time of his apprenticeship, and the social position of his family, it is incredible that, as has been asserted, he began to paint miniatures before he had ever seen a picture. The art-instinct might lead a youth of sixteen to imitate by pencilled forms, but hardly to paint miniatures. The adoption of a special and conventional form of art gives more than a hint of instruction. That he is not known to have received such is only to say that his training in artistic methods is involved in the cloudy uncertainty which envelops the whole of his early life.

Possible Sources of Knowledge of Methods

One fact, however, must not be overlooked, that when he first went to Heriot's, the Trustees' Academy classes had for a few years been meeting in one of the College class-rooms. They had been held there for eleven years when (in 1771, the year of Sir Walter Scott's birth) he went to Gilliland's. The College is



Sir John and Lady Clerk (p 133).

within a few minutes' walk of either place. He may have got some instruction from Delacour and Pavillon, and it may be noted that in the year of his entrance upon his apprenticeship, the mastership of the Academy was assumed by Alexander Runciman. It is not likely that these movements in the comparatively young Academy escaped Gilliland, whose business would almost compel him to take notice of any local institution founded for teaching ornament and design. Permission to attend the classes would only have been in keeping with the more than friendly relations he established with his apprentice.

If the latter had no teaching, but discovered miniature-painting for himself, it might be shown by a living parallel that he did nothing incredible. That such was the case is, however, highly improbable. Raeburn preceded the leaders in Scots miniature-painting by about twenty years—George Sanders (1774-1846), William Douglas (1780-1832), W. J. Thomson, R.S.A. (1771-1845), and Alexander Robertson—but the art had been very successfully practised in England at least since the time of Nicholas Hilliard in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. That some works of the English miniaturists should have reached Edinburgh is not beyond the bounds of probability. They may have passed through Raeburn's hands in the ordinary course of a goldsmith's business. If he saw only one, there is in other evidence of his lively native intelligence ground sufficiently solid to found a belief that

Miniatures and Miniaturists

he saw quite enough to induce him to attempt portraiture by similar methods.

Native Intelligence and Tuition

It is only his due to remember that it was chiefly "native intelligence" that directed him to the leadership of Scots portrait-painters. Without any apparent effort he mastered the instruments of art, and as easily left his first teachers behind. From their fragmentary hints he evolved a technical mode and a style of his own. Like the landscapes of Alexander Fraser, Raeburn's early portraits betray few of the marks of trial-pieces. They give out hardly a whisper of the "'prentice hand" of a novice experimenting in colour. The manual training got at Gilliland's co-operated with Raeburn's instinct for art in his acquisition of a measurable command of technique. In the most natural way he passed from pencil-drawing and sketches of his companions to miniature-painting, and from miniatures in water-colour to life-size portraits in oil.

CHAPTER VI.

RAEBURN'S TEACHERS AND EARLY WORKS.

A goldsmith's training—Drawing and design—Goldsmithing and miniature-painting—Early miniatures—Darwin memorial trinket—"A young man of great genius"—Gilliland and his apprentice—Introduction to David Martin—The "Secret of Titian"—False charge and rupture—Martin's style—Raeburn tries oil-painting—Its effect upon his miniatures—His indenture virtually cancelled—His early works in oil-colours—"George Chalmers of Pittencrieff"—Who taught Raeburn to paint landscape?—The effects of later foreign study upon manner—Stevenson's hypothetical portraitists—The value of scholastic teaching—Raeburn almost wholly self-taught.

THAT Raeburn acquired a certain amount of manual dexterity and accuracy as a draughtsman from his work at the goldsmith's goes without saying. These qualities fitted him for miniature-painting, to which he appears to have turned soon after settling into harness at Gilliland's. He found sitters for practice among his friends and associates. In time his works attracted the attention of his master, whose treatment of his apprentice is the best available evidence of Raeburn's growing skill. His miniatures, nevertheless, have been so totally eclipsed

Sitters for Miniatures

by his oils that he is almost unknown amongst miniaturists.

Two, of uncertain date, were included in the exhibition of his portraits held at Edinburgh in 1876. The earlier of these is a likeness of David Deuchar, engraver and etcher, and evidently belongs to the Gilliland period. It is formal to the very verge of stiffness, but has all the firmness and decision of a painter sure of his practice, and mainly intent upon rendering a literal account of his subject. To the painter, art was obviously nothing more than an instrument for recording the facts of reality. The second miniature is one of Dr. Andrew Wood, and is obviously later than the Deuchar. The style is more mature, the colour more mellow, but the difference is chiefly felt in the painter's awakening to the fact that Nature draws less than she models, and in his addition of expression to correctly outlined features. He already began to realise that to limn soul and character, to impart personal vitality to his pigments, is a painter's subtlest problem, and, even in so far as mere likeness is concerned, of at least co-ordinate importance with the accurate presentment of face and feature.

Early Miniatures, "Deuchar" and "Dr. Wood"

During the whole course of his apprenticeship, Raeburn's energy and industry were most exemplary. One valuable piece of evidence touching his share in the industrial work of the Gilliland establishment is found in "A Tribute to the Memory of Sir Henry Raeburn," by Dr. Andrew Duncan. Dr. Erasmus

A Mourning Trinket

Darwin, the author of the *Botanic Garden,* a poem esteemed in its day, and of other works indicative of genius, had a son named Charles, who is now likely to be chiefly known as the uncle of the famous Charles Robert Darwin. He was a pupil in the medical class taught by Dr. Duncan. Unfortunately, while working in the dissecting-room with a wounded hand, Charles contracted blood-poisoning, and death brought his medical studies to an end. That seems to have happened about 1778, when he was twenty years of age. He had given proof of exceptional capacity by winning the gold medal of the Æsculapian Society. Amongst those who mourned him most deeply was his teacher.

A Memorial Trinket

"On the death of young Darwin," Dr. Duncan says, "I was anxious to retain some slight token in remembrance of my highly-esteemed young friend, and, for that purpose, I obtained a small portion of his hair. I applied to Mr. Gilliland to have it preserved in a mourning ring. He told me that one of his present apprentices was a young man of great genius, and could prepare for me in hair a memorial that would demonstrate both taste and art. Young Raeburn was immediately called, and proposed to execute on a small trinket, which might be hung at a watch, a muse weeping over an urn, marked with the initials of Charles Darwin. The trinket was finished by Raeburn in a manner which, to me, afforded manifest proof of very superior genius, and I still preserve it as a memorial of the singular and early merit both of Darwin and Raeburn."

Sir Henry Raeburn, R.A.

Speaking within a year of Raeburn's death, and nearly half a century after the incident he was detailing, Dr. Duncan's memory may have been dimmed by the lapse of time. His account, nevertheless, is so circumstantial, that one is constrained to believe that Raeburn was still an apprentice, and that the trinket was really the work of his hands.

"A Young Man of Great Genius"

It will be observed that Gilliland spoke of his apprentice as "a young man of great genius." If done, as many of his experiments in miniature must have been, during working-hours, Raeburn could not have expected them to escape his master's eye. Master and apprentice may have worked side by side. Under the ordinary indenture the obligations laid upon them are mutual. The master is taken bound to teach his business to his apprentice; the latter's time during working-hours is not his own but his employer's. It is, therefore, quite possible that Raeburn showed Gilliland specimens of his painting to get his opinion of them, and perhaps hints for their betterment. By taking his master into his confidence he was only acting honourably, and might, furthermore, gain fuller opportunity for painting miniatures openly. That, in any case, is what happened. For a few years before the term for which he was bound expired, Raeburn was really a portrait-painter; nominally, he was being initiated in the goldsmith's craft.

The Apprentice Goldsmith turns to Portraiture

The legal instrument seems to have been superseded

at first by a tacit understanding, and afterwards by a verbal agreement in this wise: When Gilliland discovered the genius plainly working in his apprentice, he, with an unselfish generosity, as wise as it is rare, decided to aid its development by allowing Raeburn every reasonable opportunity for its exercise. That he had an artist-genius in his workshop, awoke in him an active sympathy. This he began to show, as in Dr. Duncan's case, by praising his apprentice to his customers, and subsequently, as he found that Raeburn's skill warranted his recommendation, by securing him commissions.

A Liberal Master

The situation was curious and anomalous, and yet had in it an amusing element. Cunningham speaks of Gilliland as a mild and worthy man; facts prove him to have been a highly enlightened employer. He did not find it undignified, in commercial phrase, to "canvass for orders" for his apprentice. One led to another, and, as the miniaturist's reputation spread, commissions came pouring in at such a rate that goldsmithing gradually receded into the background.

While the tide was flowing Raeburn made the acquaintance, probably through Gilliland, of David Deuchar, to whose miniature reference has been made. As he was considerably older than Raeburn, and afterwards gained some little distinction by his etchings after Holbein and several Dutch and Flemish painters, he must have had some knowledge of art, but of any influence he exercised over Raeburn, or of any instruction given him, nothing is known.

A far more important event to Raeburn was his introduction by Gilliland to David Martin, who about the year 1775 held a good position in Edinburgh as a portrait-painter, and enjoyed an extensive practice both there and in London. Martin had studied under Allan Ramsay, and while acting as his assistant attended the drawing academy in St. Martin's Lane. Starting upon an independent career, he adhered to the finical but polished manner which Ramsay had made the vogue.

David Martin, Painter in Oil

When he settled in Edinburgh he was under forty years of age, and had nearly a quarter of a century of his working-life before him. It may be that his skill declined, and that his practice shrank; or it may be that he felt himself eclipsed, as he certainly was, by the abnormally rapid development of Raeburn's art. In any event, he withdrew from the obviously unequal rivalry, and died in London in 1798.

Still, Martin remains an outstanding figure in the life of Raeburn. From his works Raeburn obtained the most important part of such education in artistic methods as he ever received. As Martin was in Edinburgh in 1775, and Raeburn was painting oil-portraits at least so early as 1776, it must have been soon after Martin's arrival from London that Gilliland took Raeburn over to the New Town, and introduced him to Martin at his studio in St. James's Square. The latter, according to Cunningham, was all courtesy and condescension. On his side, Raeburn, we are told, was so greatly astonished and delighted that afterwards, when



William Ferguson of Kilrie (p. 136).

his own name stood high, he was heard to declare that Martin's kind words were still in his ears and his paintings before him. "The portraits of that artist," adds Cunningham with happy propriety, "were to him what the verses of Fergusson were to Burns, and the result was not dissimilar."

The precise extent of Raeburn's indebtedness to Martin cannot now be measured. The moral and intellectual results of their brief intercourse were probably greater than the artistic. The works he saw gave him an encouraging hint of what he might do, widened his horizon, and enlarged his view of art. But if he carried any of the difficulties he met in exploring the intricacies of *technique* to Martin, he got little help to surmount them. The elder artist lent him portraits to copy, but did not tell him how they were painted. He explained none of the processes of art, divulged none of the secrets of the studio, seemed disposed rather to guard them as mysteries. As Mr. R. A. M. Stevenson puts the case, he seems, like many other British painters, to have thought that art depended upon certain tricks to be kept as jealously concealed as the secret of Samson's strength.

What Raeburn Learned from Martin

"Martin evidently believed in the 'Secret of Titian' myth," says Stevenson, "which still obtains credit, and consequently felt that he was, like the possessor of a famous jewel, in danger from thieves." He accordingly gave Raeburn no real insight into the practice of painting,

The "Secret of Titian" Myth

kept trade secrets to himself, and left his young acquaintance to grope his way by the help of natural aptitude and instinct.

Martin's reticence, in all likelihood, proved in the end a decided advantage to his so-called pupil. The truth seems to be that, almost from the first, he looked upon Raeburn with jealousy, saw in him a coming rival, felt what Cunningham calls a presentiment of eclipse. Even the lending of pictures for copying purposes came soon to an end. Martin so far forgot himself as to tax Raeburn with having sold one of the copies he had been allowed to make. The charge was indignantly denied, and the young painter sought no further favours in St. James's Square. He got the encouragement of example, the strength of wider vision, and, fortunately, nothing more.

The word "fortunately" is used deliberately. Martin had experience, had studied in Italy as well as under Ramsay, and he painted well in the small style of his master; but he had no originality, and the deft skill he possessed he consequently used as a man struggling with a foreign language. This may be gathered from two portraits by him in Edinburgh. They are cramped, smooth, inartistic, the hesitating productions of a man of uncertain gait, who had no self-confidence and never felt sure of results. Even in depreciating Raeburn he was not original: "The lad in George Street," said he, after Raeburn's return home in 1787, "painted better before he went to Rome."

Martin the Scottish Hudson

Oils and Miniatures

So of the "Giuseppe Marchi," Hudson exclaimed to Reynolds: "By G——, Reynolds, you don't paint so well as when you left England." Looking back, the conclusion is unavoidable that Martin's want of amiability was Raeburn's good fortune. With less apprehensive jealousy, he might have imparted his own tight and commonplace manner to Raeburn, and so have incapacitated him for great work and disabled him even for rivalling his own plodding and mechanical mediocrity.

Raeburn's tentative efforts to work in oil had a good effect upon his miniature-painting. It became bolder, and betrayed less microscopic attention to detail. His practice increased, and Gilliland allowed him all necessary freedom for following his new career. Business, however, could not be altogether overlooked. Painting miniatures at the rate of two a week, Raeburn could give neither time nor attention to goldsmithing. He was earning money rapidly, and upon it a compromise was made. Gilliland gave him all his time to himself, and got in return a compensation in money for the unexpired term of his apprenticeship. A year previously he had been working at the bench, copying Martin's portraits, painting miniatures, and trying what he could do in oil. The copying and goldsmithing being both abandoned, he could give himself up wholly to miniatures and oils. If the Martin episode and the new agreement with Gilliland be both ascribed to the year 1776, the most acceptable view of his movements is that the oils—including the portrait of George Chalmers, of

Effect of Oils on Miniature-painting

Pittencrieff, done that year—were painted at his brother's house, and the majority of his miniatures at the goldsmith's. The making of the Darwin trinket places him at Gilliland's in 1778, and no mention is made of his having a separate studio until a few years afterwards. He must accordingly be imagined oscillating between St. Bernard's and Gilliland's for at least two years, 1776-78, as work demanded attention at either place. In the latter year his apprenticeship and miniature-painting probably came to a simultaneous close, and almost at once his future took on a warmer and brighter colour.

Early Portraits in Oil-colours

These years, say from the ages of nineteen to twenty-two, were busy and pregnant. His scheme of life was completely revolutionised. He began to turn against miniature-painting as trivial, when seen in the broader outlook furnished by oil-painting. That he was devoting a good deal of time to sketching landscape is seen by the Pittencrieff portrait of 1776. The background curtain is looped up so as to show, through a window to the sitter's right, an imposing ruin set in a landscape. For an untaught novice of twenty, the figure is remarkably well-drawn and painted, although the expression is somewhat watchful, and has in it more of questioning doubt than of the repose of confidence. Let us, however, look through the window. The building is firmly drawn, and the treatment of earth and sky shows observation as well as feeling. The lower sky is filled with a light which touches the edges of the upper

clouds, and with nice judgment balances that upon the face. There is no crude bungling of the chiaroscuro. The light comes in from the right of the picture, and is carried across the canvas without the slightest change of direction. It falls, that is, upon the left face and front of the sitter, and upon the side of the building seen through the window. Its reconciliation with the light in the sky is of minor importance to the broad effect.

The question arises at this point, Who taught him to paint landscape? Was it Gilliland the goldsmith, or Deuchar the etcher, or Martin the Society portrait-painter? It was, in all likelihood, none of them. The question touches the broad subject of his training and style. Raeburn afterwards visited London, and for two years resided in Italy, and these incidents will be introduced in their proper place in his biography; but he was twenty-nine when he left home. Grant that a true artist—one, that is, who never relinquishes the idea of progress, or falls into the stagnation of immovably moulded mannerism, but is always advancing—is a student and a learner to the last, he will still make fewer modifying additions to an individually developed style at twenty-nine than at nineteen. His receptive faculty may be lively and elastic, but, having less to learn, he is less impressionable. The consciousness of his now maturing power gives him self-reliance, and he is less ready either to swear allegiance to a master or to graft wayside borrowings upon a system reared upon experience and thoroughly tested by long-continued practice.

Training and Style

Sir Henry Raeburn, R.A.

When Raeburn left home he had been for nine years painting portraits, and he may be assumed to have gone with a style of home-production in a forward state of development. That such was the case is established by the portraits which may with confidence be attributed to the period 1776-85. Let them be compared with those done after 1787, when he returned from Italy, and the difference is not so marked that a confident and exact discrimination can be made between the results of foreign study and those of naturally ripening power.

Imagined Teachers of Portraiture

It is easy to imagine Raeburn receiving lessons in youth, but as we do not know what instruction, if any, he derived from Gilliland, Deuchar, and Martin, it is a strained hypothesis which brings into the field innominate teachers of whose mere existence nothing is known. Portraitists in various media, able to initiate Raeburn into the ordinary rudiments and practice of painting, may have been, as Stevenson virtually suggests, as plentiful in Edinburgh as blackberries in September, but the name of not a solitary one has survived. Surmise has no data to go upon. The very lack of tuition more probably threw Raeburn back upon his own resources, and contributed to his comparative independence of his time and surroundings. Even if he had a choice of obscure teachers, they were not likely to have escaped from the grooves of tradition and convention. They could have taught Raeburn very little. There is nothing in his work

to ground a belief that in that way he was taught anything.

If, in fine, all the teaching that Raeburn is known to have got be carefully weighed, an impartial inquirer must needs find himself gradually driven back upon Cunningham's account of the young painter's struggles during the probationary period. According to this authority, when relieved from the routine and drudgery of the workshop, Raeburn let ambition loose, and began to look beyond a miniaturist's career. It was then that he formed a little gallery or studio, possibly at St. Bernard's House, and seriously took up painting in oil. Emboldened by the success of his first sketches, he tried life-size portraiture, found it less difficult than he had been led to anticipate, and devoted himself to it to the end.

Education and Originality

What follows is too emphatic and circumstantial to be paraphrased:—"His first difficulty was the preparation of his colours, putting them on the palette, and applying them according to the rules of art as taught in the academies. All this he had to seek out for himself: and there is no doubt that the thought which such knowledge cost him, and the labour and the time which it took to master so many obstacles, were well worth all the lectures thrice repeated of the skilful and the ingenious." As Martin churlishly refused his help, Cunningham continues: "Raeburn had to make experiments, and drudge to acquire what belongs to the mechanical labour and not to the genius of his art." By such trying means

he achieved hard-won success. His reputation soon spread throughout the city, and while commissions for miniatures increased in number, his life-size portraits in oil began to attract attention, and for them also sitters multiplied. "And so much," says Cunningham, "did his powers expand with space, that the latter soon outrivalled the former, and grew so much in request, that he resolved to relinquish miniature-painting entirely, and to abide by the easel."

Dr. John Brown's Evidence

The subject of Raeburn's training derives its chief importance from its bearing upon his originality and style. The evidence of Dr. John Brown may, for that reason, be introduced in support of Cunningham. Raeburn, we are told, first showed his turn for art by caricaturing his comrades. Afterwards, "without any teaching," he made miniatures of his friends. He next passed from the delicacies and minuteness of miniature to his bold "square touch" in oil. "He had to teach himself everything," says Dr. Brown, without pausing to make exceptions, "drawing, the composition of colours, in which doubtless he employed largely Opie's well-known mixture, 'With brains, sir.'"

It is only by isolating Raeburn in his youth that the qualities which, in his later life, give its distinctive character to his art, and make his position unique among British portrait-painters, can be understood. It can never be definitely known how much of the individuality of artists is due to the want of scholastic tuition. The more systematic and the more arbitrary



Admiral Lord Duncan (p. 137).

the training, the less hope is there of originality in the result. The pupil himself may be stifled, his personality crushed, during the training process. In that case, he goes out into the world carrying the name-plate of a school, and loaded with its conventions. Had Raeburn been taught the best methods of the past, he might have made use of them in painting his own impressions, the conceptions of his own mind and senses. Not knowing them, he escaped the danger, to which Ramsay, Reinagle, Martin, and a legion besides succumbed, of losing his identity in tradition. Keeping to nature, and changing as he found nature change, he passed in safety the slough of mannerism, and is accordingly found in closer affinity with some of the older Masters than with painters of his own day, and of immediately preceding generations. He helped to build a Scots art, upon no provincial scholasticism or rule-and-square dogma, but upon principles as broad as the universe, and as old as Art. He did so because he was almost wholly self-taught.

Raeburn almost wholly Self-taught

CHAPTER VII.

MARRIAGE.

The fateful year 1778 — Raeburn's appearance — Stevenson's word-portrait of him — His versatility and many pursuits — Painter, modeller, architect, builder, mechanician, gardener—His manners —Taken in hand by Society—A companion in poverty—A herring dinner — John Clerk, Lord Eldin — A woodland vision — A lady sitter—A romance—Anne Edgar, Countess Leslie—St. Bernard's House—Deanhaugh House—The Cunningham fiction exploded—A happy marriage—A sketch of Mrs. Raeburn—The end of Deanhaugh House.

THE year 1778 was the most important of Raeburn's life. Some time in the course of it he entirely threw off the light fetters of the friendly goldsmith, although only to place himself in bonds of a tenderer but stronger sort. The causes which obscure his early life affect also his personality, and narrative at times is led along the dangerous line of deduction from known results.

Raeburn's Personal Appearance

There is no sketch of Raeburn in early life, either artistic or literary. That he was self-reliant, resourceful, and courageous, a man to mould circumstance, is apparent from the story of his life. He was a Borderer, and seems to have been cast in the hereditary Border

mould. But there is no contemporary picture of him telling how he looked and lived. One biographer speaks of his tall, striking figure—he stood fully six feet two in his boots—and fine, open, manly countenance. Dr. John Brown sees him in his portrait, handsome, kindly, and full of genius.

In another part of his sympathetic attempt at portraiture, after passing a number of Raeburn's portraits in review, the creator of the immortal *Rab* speaks regretfully of his "fine, old friend." "We have been nobly entertained," he continues; "it has been a quite rare pleasure to rest our mind and eyes on his character and works—to feel the power of his presence—his great gifts—his frank, broad, manly nature." It is quite likely that he was fond of company, and able to hold his own in conversation; but Stevenson, who thus speaks of him, is restricted to Raeburn's portrait of himself in describing him and reading his character. The portrait, in truth, has in it so much vitality that there can be little error in accepting it as an example of the necromancy of art; and it is so realistic and inseeing an exposition of character, that the painting of it cannot be otherwise viewed than as a species of personal divination. Of one truth it is eloquent—Raeburn knew himself.

The Painter in Society

To Stevenson his face is strong and shrewd, but neither unsympathetic nor unkindly. It tells him also of the self-criticism and the consequent desire for improvement which never left Raeburn. The rest of the word-portrait, even were it less of a likeness than it

appears to be, would be interesting simply because it is drawn by one so observant and penetrating as R. A. M. Stevenson was:—

"A forehead broad and ample at the brows and neither too lofty nor too salient above, eyes wide open, wide apart, serene and attentive, a nose large rather than high, and spreading at the nostrils, a long [deep is apparently meant] upper lip, a broad chin, and a mouth straightly and firmly slit across the massive face, suggest a man of real emotions and practical genius rather than one given to fictitious fancies and poetic reverie. This fine type of face . . . always accompanies sense and observation; but in Raeburn it appears at its best, balanced by a due allowance of tolerance, the contemplative faculty and the instinctive good feeling we see in a dog, ennobled by natural wisdom, fired by sympathy and humour, refined by intellect, sentiment, and the habitual practice of an absorbing and intellectual art. He looks wise, fearless, independent; a friend, not a flatterer; a man of counsel, who would not forget the means to an end if one should ask his advice upon a project. In the case of his own art he took wise counsel with himself, and though rich, ambitious, and in his youth untrained, he made himself a sound craftsman and an interpreter of nature rather than a skilled adapter of styles, and a clever student of decorative venerated mannerisms."

A Pen-portrait of Raeburn

That is probably as near Raeburn as we shall ever get. There are, nevertheless, in the face signs of

qualities which Mr. Stevenson has overlooked. In the square strong jaw are energy and force of character, in the firmly-compressed lips will-power, and the whole face, dominated by the flashing eye, scintillates with intelligence. There is in it more mental power than feeling, more strength than refinement.

Sir Walter Armstrong credits him with thoroughness, but not with concentration. It is doubtful if the one quality can exist without the other. He was versatile, and not only gratified tastes of abnormally wide range, but found outlets for the overflow of ebullient energy in many different directions. It is not desirable, in picturing his early manhood, to anticipate activities which did not manifest themselves in operation for some time after 1778, but a rapid outline may give reality to him at the virtual beginning of his career.

Versatility of the Artist-Sportsman

He painted, is said to have modelled, and sketched. Healthy and high-spirited, we can see him in his wanderings over Scotland armed with sketch-book and rod, for he was an enthusiastic angler, a golfer, and a practised archer. His splendid physique needed the oiling of exercise, and his temperament compelled some kind of action. The counterpart of this was mental restlessness. His busy brain would tolerate neither loitering nor idleness. So he came to look into mechanics, practical shipbuilding, and the principles of naval architecture, which led him to make and test three-foot models finished in a style

worthy of an ex-goldsmith. He also studied architecture, planned and built his own studio, and laid out and built all the better part of Stockbridge. In connection with that he developed what Cunningham quaintly calls "a sort of abstract love for the subtle science of the law." He paid strict attention to the formal observances of religion. Courted in society, he was seen at his best at home. He was a skilful gardener and a learned florist. One accordingly reads with a sympathetic sense of the fitness of the climax that he devoted many an evening hour to searching out the secret of Perpetual Motion!

Counting time by years, such men never live long. In experience, each one of them is a Methusaleh. Raeburn's want of method, his ignoring of order, has been a sore trial to his biographers. His pictures are for the most part undated, and he left no writings from which his personality can be constructed. He was the direct opposite of the dreamy experimentalist in colour. He was essentially a man of action. He lived in a day as much as another man lived in a week, compressed into a decade the other man's century. He unconsciously observed the distinction between living and either dreaming or vegetating. But he never entered the earthly Nirvana, knew nothing of the spiritually-pregnant peace of cultured repose.

As to his personality, at twenty-two he certainly exercised a charm. Judging him by the effect he had upon others, as construed by their conduct, he

must have been singularly lovable, and have possessed the imperious fascination which justifies Armstrong's phrase: "His desires were seconded by all his friends." His will became theirs; his schemes and objects they made their own. Such power is akin to hypnotic control. For lack of a more intelligible phrase, it may be called personal magnetism.

Raeburn's Personal Charm

Implicit credence may be given to the "courteous manners" with which Raeburn is invested by Cunningham. They were a very necessary part of his professional stock-in-trade. As his reputation spread, his social movements took a wider range. As a rising artist he might have been admitted to the houses of the wealthy and titled, but being in addition a good conversationalist, distinguished in bearing, in every way a highly-presentable young man, Edinburgh at large was glad to open her doors to him. His grandson says in happy phrase that his conversation in some degree resembled his style of painting—there was the same ease and simplicity, the same total absence of every kind of affectation, and the same manly turn of sense and genius. The rich and noble, we are reminded by Cunningham, invited him to their tables and gave him free access to their art-collections, "and as he was a diligent student, he missed no opportunity of improving his style or increasing the natural force of his colouring."

Society Opens its Arms and Doors

Young, well-mannered, good-looking, and clever,

Raeburn had the world before him; but he had one failing. He was poor, without ever feeling the pinch of real poverty. He must be supposed to have been living with his brother, and contributing what he could to the maintenance of the establishment at St. Bernard's. The life of a young artist pushing his way into practice, who has caught the eye of Society, and who goes on sketching excursions, is, however, an expensive life. To have shrunk into seclusion for the sake of economy would, at the same time, have been professional suicide. Applied to Raeburn, the word "poverty" must be read relatively. What it meant to him was judicious expenditure. His pocket-money was necessarily limited, and his idea of economy not so much the planning of what he could buy as deciding what he could do without.

A Companion in Poverty

At that stage he had at least one companion in misfortune—the subsequently famous wit, lawyer, and cynic, John Clerk (see Plate), who later sat on the bench of the Court of Session as Lord Eldin. Clerk was then a young advocate, waiting for practice and fees (*Anglicè*, a briefless barrister), fond of pictures and of painting, in which, according to Dr. John Brown, he had some of that family gift which, in the case of Mrs. Blackburn, blossomed out into rare and exquisite work. Through his mother, Susanna Adam, Clerk came of artistic stock, and his æsthetic tastes may be the explanation of his companionship with Raeburn. They also account for the statuette of the Crouching Venus which Raeburn



Dr. Spens (p. 141).

most suggestively introduced into the later of two portraits of his friend. Dr. John Brown describes it in a few strokes:—"John Clerk, his 'herrin' friend,' ugly and snuffy, shrewd and subtle; the Crouching Venus among the law-papers—beautifully drawn—indicating John's love of art." A story—so good as to give rise to a wish that it were a little more credible—illustrative of the straitened circumstances of the two young men, is told by Cunningham, and explains Dr. Brown's allusion to a "herrin' friend."

He says that as the one had to buy costly colours and the other expensive books, they were at times so short of cash that they hardly knew how to live until their coffers were replenished. In view of Raeburn's circumstances, and considering that Clerk was a son of John Clerk of Eldin, and grandson of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, the above statement that they sometimes "hardly knew how to live" must be taken with a liberal pinch of salt. The story, however, runs that on one of these occasions of scarcity, Clerk invited Raeburn to dine with him at his lodgings. Hastening thither, as if hunger gave him speed, Raeburn found the landlady spreading the table-cloth, upon which she placed two dishes. In one were three herrings, in the other three potatoes. Clerk was annoyed and perplexed, and the conversation that ensued is given in Dr. Brown's Scots:—

John Clerk's Herring Feast

"Is this a'?" said Clerk to the landlady.

"Ay," she replied, "it's a'."

"A'!" he answered, angrily. "Didn't I tell you, wumman, that a gentleman was to dine wi' me, and that ye were to get six herrin' and six potatoes?"

In later days of plenty, as a matter of course, over the walnuts and wine, the two successful men were fond of recalling the hard times of their early manhood. It is almost a relief to learn that sitters to Raeburn began to wax numerous.

Once or twice in his narrative, Cunningham arouses suspicion of his strict truth. His introduction to Raeburn's marriage is almost certainly apocryphal. We are told that the painter earnestly wished to master landscape and historical composition. On one occasion, when on a sketching excursion, his line of vision was crossed by a lady so lovely as to give additional charm to the scene before him. Into his drawing of it he accordingly introduced her, like a sunbeam into a shadowed dell, as Gainsborough once did upon a similar occasion. Cunningham suggests an artistic reason, but Art does not account for the painter's memory of his woodland vision.

A Pretty Woodland Vision

Some time afterwards, at any rate, a lady of small stature, but fair to look upon, presented herself at the painter's studio, and asked if he would paint her portrait. It is pretty to watch the little comedy. Remembering the face, Raeburn was interested, and, perhaps with even a little more than his customary animation, conducts his fair visitor to a chair and prepares for work. His sitter watches him and sees

that, if not altogether an Apollo, the painter was a very fair eighteenth-century representative of the ideal type of manhood. As he puts a new canvas upon his easel, he tries to be pleasant, and the lady notes that he speaks well, and that his manner is easy and polished.

A Lady-sitter, a Romance, and Marriage

Raeburn did not lose his head, and when he comes to take a look—professional, of course—at his sitter, he sees a pleasant-faced little lady, attractive but not fascinating, plump but graceful, obviously of a warm temperament, and with soft, confiding eyes. She was demure and self-possessed, as became a lady of thirty-four, twelve years older than Raeburn himself. Better acquaintance led Raeburn to see that she had wit and sensibility, and rising regard lent inspiration to his brush. There is authority for saying that the resulting portrait was fine. Unfortunately it has disappeared. The courtship was short. In about a month they were married, and at twenty-two the painter found himself in possession of "an affectionate wife and a handsome fortune." The quotation is from Cunningham.

The love-story is pretty, but romance has a way of evaporating under inquiry. The lady was Ann Edgar, daughter of Peter Edgar, laird of Bridgelands, Peeblesshire, and factor to the Earl of Selkirk. About ten years prior to meeting Raeburn, she had married one of the Aberdeenshire Leslies of Balquhun, James, who won abroad the title of Count. She bore him three

children—a boy (who was accidentally drowned) and two girls—and, on his death, was left in possession of a goodly property. Raeburn, therefore, got the Countess Leslie to wife, and with her two step-daughters and material independence. Marrying a widow with a family has a pronounced flavour of the prose of matrimony, but the union turned out well, and Raeburn even succeeded in winning the affections of his step-children. The Leslie property included the house and lands of Deanhaugh, which had, in fact, been the Count's residence and continued to be that of his widow. In the juxtaposition of St. Bernard's and Deanhaugh the Cunningham story virtually disappears.

Raeburn Weds a Widowed Countess

St. Bernard's stood on the banks of the Water of Leith, on a site at that time green and smooth to the river's edge. It was reached by a broad avenue of trees and shrubbery, and was surrounded by fields and a fine orchard of apple and pear trees. Close by ran an avenue of stately elms, on the right of which was the garden. There was also, it appears, an Antiquary's Tower — "Ross's Folly," as it was locally called, out of left-handed compliment to the owner—demolished in 1825 to make room for Ann Street. Part of the avenue and the rookery survived (1820) in St. Bernard's Crescent. Cunningham says that "the steep banks were then [about 1788] finely wooded, the garden grounds varied and beautiful, and all the

A Description of St. Bernard's House

seclusion of the country could be enjoyed without the remoteness." The ornamental bridge, Mr. Andrew tells us, the beautiful grottoes and terrace walks which led to Deanhaugh House and St. Bernard's gave place to streets of new houses, even before the final demolition of the Antiquary's Tower. It should be added that, after standing in a state of disrepair for several years, the Well was thoroughly restored by William Nelson, the eminent publisher, to whose public spirit as a citizen Auld Reekie otherwise owes much.

It is decidedly suggestive that there was a common approach to the two houses. Mr. Andrew finishes the picture:—"Old Deanhaugh House has also," he says, "been swept away to make room for the extension of Leslie Place. It was the oldest self-contained mansion in the locality—a plain, unpretending building of three storeys, with its adjacent offices. Yet, in former times, when standing in the midst of its own grounds, its surroundings were very beautiful and picturesque. Situated a little back from the banks of the Water of Leith, a short avenue branching off from the entrance to the house of St. Bernard's led to its principal entrance."

Raeburn's Married Home

From this it is fairly clear that if the occupants of Deanhaugh were not acquainted with those of St. Bernard's, they were not kept apart by local barriers. There is, at any rate, no reasonable basis for the Cunningham story. So far from seeing the Countess Leslie when he was on a sketching excursion, Raeburn might have seen her, and been seen by her, when

standing at his own door. There was nothing unusual in a well-to-dò woman having her portrait painted, especially as in a little suburb like the Stockbridge of that day, it is impossible that she had not heard of her neighbours, the brothers Raeburn—William the manufacturer, and Henry the portrait-painter. In the simple language of his great-grandson, Raeburn "fell in love with his sitter, and made a very fine portrait of her." After the marriage, he transferred himself and his belongings to Deanhaugh House, and spent about ten years in it before returning to St. Bernard's.

The only description of Mrs. Raeburn is based upon a later portrait done by Sir Henry after many years of wedded life. This is the Tweedmouth portrait (see Plate), that of a matronly, comfortable lady of upwards of forty, with eyes that tell of tenderness, of smiles, good nature, and a healthy, sunny disposition. The mouth is firm, but there is more sweetness than resolution in the face, and it is eloquent of quiet contentment. Judging by the expression rendered in their portraits, she probably added a soft and winning loveliness of character to her husband's masculine force and more robust vitality. Their mutual affection knew no waning. Their home was so happy that for restful peace, sympathetic companionship, and pleasure, Raeburn need never have left his own fireside.

A Sketch of Mrs. Raeburn

To complete the story of Deanhaugh, Sir Henry appears to have had his studio there down to 1787. It was subsequently occupied by one of his stepdaughters, Mrs. Ann Inglis, whose husband had died in

Calcutta, leaving her with two boys, Henry Raeburn Inglis and Charles James Leslie Inglis. The former was Sir Henry's favourite step-grandson, and he painted the boy holding a rabbit as his Royal Academy diploma picture.

The boys and their mother lived at Deanhaugh. When Mrs. Inglis died, the old house was almost surrounded by buildings; on three sides, in fact, it was completely shut in. Being no longer suitable for its original purpose as a private mansion, it was divided amongst a number of families, and in the degradation of a tenement-house it stood, says Andrew, for many years, "as something that now had no right to be there." In such fashion it passed into oblivion long before its demolition.

The End of Deanhaugh House

Lord President Dundas

They were years of peace but not of idleness. It is said, indeed, that he painted portraits sufficient to make him independent of Mrs. Raeburn's fortune. At this period the regret that he did not date his portraits is most keenly felt. In the catalogue of the Edinburgh exhibition of his works in 1876, No. 85 is "Robert Dundas, of Arniston," second Lord President of the Court of Session of that name, and son of the first Lord President Dundas. His portrait is said to have been painted "about 1787." In that year, however, Dundas died, so that the portrait was either painted in the last year of the judge's life or before Raeburn left for Rome in 1785. The latter alternative is probably the right one, although it must be noted that Mr. J. L. Caw ascribes it absolutely to 1787.

Portrait of Lord President Dundas

There is a copy of the portrait in Parliament House, Edinburgh, and a careful examination of it leads almost inevitably to the adoption of the earlier date. The face, and especially the eye, seem suggestive rather of vitality and intellectual activity than of the near approach of decay. The artistic qualities of the work, again, do not point to Raeburn's more mature post-Italian style. The President wears his judicial robe of red and black, with white band falling from the neck. The wigged head is set against a brown curtain; the chair in which he is seated is studded green leather, and is turned at an angle from left to right. Place the carnations of the massive face and beautifully modelled hands in such a scheme of colour,

and a very little consideration shows that the result cannot possibly be the full Raeburnesque harmony. The point, nevertheless, is not insisted on, for, as in the Sinclair and Macnab portraits, Raeburn had a marvellous faculty of bringing seemingly irreconcilable facts into artistic unity. It may, however, be added that the drawing of the left arm is questionable, and that the hands—particularly the shapely right, gracefully hanging over the end of the chair-arm—have a prominence never accorded them in Raeburn's later works.

There can be no hesitation in accepting the ascription of "Mrs. Ferguson, of Raith," and her boy and girl, to 1781, the period under consideration. The scheme of colour is very simple and pleasing—the lady and girl in white, the boy in brown, foliage also brown, with landscape setting. The lighting is akin to that in the "Chalmers of Pittencrieff." A side-front light is thrown upon the figures, and a sun-lit sky illuminates the background. It is a bold experiment, but justified by the artistic result, and was frequently repeated by the artist in after years. Mrs. Ferguson has a somewhat conscious look, the painter obviously not having reached his later power of putting his sitters at their ease. This, too, is one of many cases in which Raeburn is not happy in his presentment of children, his success with whom is most brilliantly demonstrated in "The Binning Boys" (see Plate).

"Mrs. Ferguson, of Raith, and Children"

These pictures were apparently painted at Dean-

haugh. It is at least highly probable that, on his marriage, Raeburn merely carried the tools of his craft across to his new home. Prior to that, there can be no doubt that his studio was at St. Bernard's. In 1787, on his return from Rome, he took his first separate studio in George Street.

Succession of Studios

At this point Cunningham becomes reflective. He dwells upon the crushing effects of poverty, how it forces genius to acts of uncongenial drudgery, and, fettering the man of power, prevents him from following out his mental conceptions with the vigour essential to full success. Against this gloomy background the fact is thrown into high relief that, through his marriage, Raeburn had attained the blessedness of comparative wealth. We are asked to believe that he suddenly began to worry over a consciousness of imperfect skill, and to thirst for self-improvement by studying the best models. The command of money stirred his ambition, and led him to realise more clearly than he previously had done the necessity of travel and of study in "the nursery of art."

Poverty and Genius

In all this there is probably a modicum of truth, but Raeburn did not hastily awaken to his own technical inferiority. He was in no hurry to exchange Edinburgh for Rome, self-training for indoctrination by the Masters with more skilful methods. He was still a young artist between twenty-two and twenty-nine, and at that time of life the majority of men who are flattered by the

assurance of success, and by the first trumpetings of fame, are apt to feel something quite different from diffident self-depreciation. The statement is Cunningham's that Raeburn's name was heard of beyond Edinburgh, and that he was regarded as one whom genius and fortune had united to raise.

Whether this be fact or fancy, Raeburn was not the man either to be inflated with self-admiration or to sink into self-distrust. He was pre-eminently gifted with common-sense, was well-balanced and self-critical. He had, however, reached that period when many men turn from self-confidence to self-examination, and he probably found himself wanting.

This feeling is quite distinct from ambition. It is an ennobling dissatisfaction with the highest accomplishment. No artist ever complacently thought he had solved the great secret of art, had explored all its mysteries, and reached perfection. The tendency is in the opposite direction. As the hill is climbed the view expands. A greater to be done ever rises above the greatest that is done, a better above the best. The higher they rise the higher they would rise, and the more clearly they see floating in the upper ether of life that unattainable Ideal which is never reached. It tempts the great artist to the exertion of his fullest strength, the highest development of his gift. It is an elusive phantom he pursues through life, and, at last, to reach it becomes his thought of paradise.

The Artist's Unattainable Ideal

These sentences contain little more than the plainer

prose of the conversation of Sir Noël Paton, a great painter and a countryman of Raeburn. He probably shared the feeling they express. The better he painted, he would be unlike the majority of eminent painters if he did not see the farther into the possibilities of colour. The next stage is to become conscious of the tantalising Inexpressible, and to long for a fuller, more adequate command of artistic speech. As Raeburn passed through the years 1778-85 that carried him from twenty-two to twenty-nine, the realisation of inadequacy would certainly become more painful. The fresh delight of youth in the novelty of art was being exchanged for manhood's desire for the ampler exercise of undeveloped power. Thus Raeburn went to London, and thence to Rome.

Starting for Italy

At the present day young painters in quest of instruction look for it in Paris. In the eighteenth century they went to Rome. So in 1785, accompanied by his wife, Raeburn set out towards the South. They first stopped in London, that Raeburn might pay his respects to Sir Joshua Reynolds, and here uncertainty at once begins. Very little is really known of either the practical objects or the facts of Raeburn's Continental excursion. A good deal may perchance be compressed into the phrase—It was the custom for painters to go to Rome, and he went. He may have been impelled by a sense of deficiency, but there is no reason for believing that he had in view so clear an object as might have been inferred from the sketching of a plan of study.

Of his doings in London, of the length of his stay there, and of what he saw, did, and studied in Rome, there is almost no certainty. He kept no diary, wrote no letters home; and if on his return he said anything of his sojourn in the Italian capital, stated any of his impressions, related anything concerning either his own occupations or the mute instruction he got from the Old Masters, it has nearly all passed into oblivion. It is also to be remembered that Raeburn was a man of measurable maturity, with views and a style of his own. Assuming that he went to learn, that he even longed to drink at Rome's deep well of art-learning, he was likely to be critical as well as absorbent, to temper enthusiasm with judicial caution, and to accept the lessons of the past under personal reservation. With what has been said in the sixth chapter, this may be sufficient to indicate the attitude in which Raeburn was likely to approach the Masters.

Want of Biographical Data

In London he called upon Sir Joshua, and was well received. According to Cunningham, "he produced some of his portraits," which passed him at once into Reynolds's favour and friendship. But, we are told, he was not a disciple of Sir Joshua, had neither the honour nor the advantage of studying under him—at the best, a doubtful assertion. Their parting must be described in Cunningham's own language:—Raeburn "ever afterwards mentioned the name of Sir Joshua with much respect—related how he counselled him to study at Rome, and worship Michael Angelo in the Sistine

Chapel; and how he took him aside, as they were about to separate, and whispered, 'Young man, I know nothing about your circumstances; young painters are seldom rich; but if money be necessary for your studies abroad, say so, and you shall not want it.' This generous offer Raeburn declined with due thanks."

London and Sir Joshua Reynolds

From the production of "some portraits" to the offer of money, the story is re-told for what it is worth. Raeburn seems to have had an amiable habit of grateful retrospection, as he is represented looking back under a like sense of personal obligation to Martin and Byres (of Rome), as well as to Reynolds. Sir Joshua's parsimony and avarice are elsewhere left in doubt by Cunningham himself. He imparts, in fact, to biography many of the charms of fiction. If Reynolds really offered Raeburn money, he must have had more knowledge of his young visitor than could have been derived from a mere passing call and a sight of "some of his portraits." One authority suggests that, notwithstanding Cunningham's disclaimer, the tradition may be well founded that Raeburn was for a few weeks a pupil of Sir Joshua. Alternatively, he may have worked for a time in London, and submitted some of his copies to Reynolds. Lengthy intercourse would have given the latter an opportunity of knowing something of Raeburn's character as well as of his artistic ability. It is said by another that Sir Joshua permitted the young man to work for a month or two under his guidance. The only known facts are that Raeburn went to

London, called upon Reynolds, and left for Rome. Speculation may be continued until doomsday, but nothing more can ever be known of the Scots painter's visit to the metropolis, unless Cunningham be accepted.

The Raeburns reach Rome

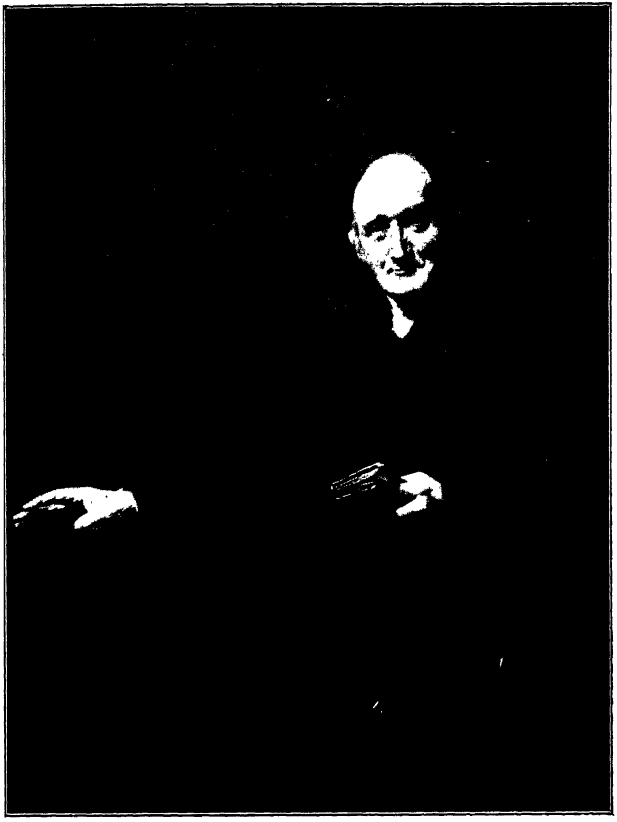
Towards the latter part of 1785 the Raeburns reached Rome, and that they owed something to their countryman, Gavin Hamilton, has previously been mentioned. He probably had a thorough knowledge of the art-treasures of Rome, acquired in the course of historical studies of Italian art, and may have been useful to Raeburn in directing him to the works of art he ought to study, but the extent of their intercourse is matter of conjecture. Any artistic sympathy between them cannot be assumed. Hamilton was deep in the history and progress of art, and his own painting was chiefly of the literary order, based largely on Homer. Stevenson describes him as a kind of dealer, an excavator, and a painter of classical subjects. Occasionally he turned to Scottish history.

Meeting with Gavin Hamilton

Brydall gives a very interesting sketch of him, in the course of which is mentioned his *Schola Italica Picturæ,* engraved by Cunego, and published at Rome in 1773. In it he traces the progress of the styles of Italian painting from Leonardo da Vinci to the time of the Caracci.

Treasure-hunting with the Devil

Concerning his excavations Brydall has this to tell:—He was so successful that the superstitious Romans circulated a report that he had sold his soul



Dr. Adam (p. 157).

to the Devil, in consequence of which Old Nick had undertaken, by the hopping of a blue flame, to point out the exact spots under which the works of ancient art were buried.

However that may be, Gavin's pictures found their way into the Hamilton Palace collection, and those of the Duke of Bedford and the Earl of Hopetoun. In Italy he found a patron in the Prince Borghese, who also purchased many of his excavated treasures. Some of these went to the enrichment of the British Museum and of various Continental collections. From all that is known of Raeburn, he is very unlikely to have felt any deep interest either in Hamilton's classical art, with its monotonous, dull, poverty-stricken colour, or in his *Schola,* or in his antiquarian finds. Where the two men may have touched was on the social side, for Hamilton is said to have endeavoured to follow the Old Masters in the state and style in which he maintained his studio, "in which he was always ready to receive and advise budding Raphaels with introductory letters from his own country."

James Byres, and his Advice

Another of Raeburn's associates in Rome was James Byres, known as the Cicerone, a Scots gentleman who had served as an officer in Lord Ogilvie's regiment in the French army. "His chief title to remembrance," Sir Walter Armstrong says quaintly, "is the fact that he was once the owner of the Portland Vase." His intercourse with Raeburn can only be guessed at, excepting a piece of advice recorded by Cunningham, "never

to copy an object from memory, but, from the principal figure to the minutest accessory, to have it placed before him." The same author states that in after-life, when speaking of his studies in Rome, Raeburn always said that to Byres he owed whatever advantage his visit had brought. This probably means that Byres told him how to derive the greatest benefit from the study of the Masters. He afterwards painted for his own gallery of friends—in which Hamilton has no place—a portrait of Byres, which Dr. John Brown saw at Charlesfield, and describes as of the first quality, broad and felicitous. "The ruffles of his shirt," says the Doctor, "are of dazzling whiteness, as if bleached by the burn side."

All else is surmise. Knowing one or two of those he met in Rome is manifestly totally different from knowing Raeburn's pursuits in Rome. One thing may be taken for granted, that he did not busy himself there with a quest for ideas, but for knowledge. Mention is made of Reynolds's guarding the golden mysteries of his art. The deeper mysteries of the old Italian Masters were undoubtedly the subjects of Raeburn's inquiring study in Rome. He is accordingly likely to have been more deeply moved, and more completely fascinated by Raphael, Titian, and Leonardo, than by the marvellous creations of the Sistine Chapel. He would care little about Botticelli's frescoes so far as conception went, but he might have been caught by the decorative abstractions of the great master of line. He would naturally turn with indifference from the pursuits

of Gavin Hamilton that he might try to unravel the matchless *technique* of Velasquez.

The only possible construction of Raeburn's prolonged sojourn in Rome, in fact, is that while there he went for two years to school, found a lesson in every picture, a teacher in every Old Master. He may be assumed to have lived and worked in Rome as he did in Stockbridge, and purpose would take definite shape from what he saw. If the advice of Byres to paint only what he had before him be added to his own concentration of every effort and faculty upon the practical solution of the problems of *technique*—light, colour, drawing, line, and modelling with the brush, everything that entered into the mastery of the Old Masters as skilled craftsmen —a fair idea may probably be formed of what Raeburn did in Rome, and of the benefit he derived from his visit.

Results of Sojourn in Rome

CHAPTER IX.

SETTLED IN EDINBURGH.

Raeburn's first separate studio—George Street—Succeeds to St. Bernard's House—Feuing and law—Builder and client—Studio in York Place—Scotland at the close of the eighteenth century—Edinburgh still a metropolitan centre—Old and new Edinburgh—The city expands—The "Modern Athens"—A centre of learning, literature, and art—Raeburn's models.

AFTER two years of Rome, Raeburn made directly for Edinburgh, halting at neither Paris nor London. He went away in 1785 and returned in 1787, and thus, at the age of thirty-one, virtually settled the plan of his future life. His first step was to take a studio more central and more convenient for sitters than Deanhaugh. He found a suitable place in George Street, the superb thoroughfare which runs along the top of the New Town ridge, having Princes Street parallel with it on the south, and Queen Street on the north. There is about the street of Raeburn's choice an air of spacious and quiet magnificence which gives it a distinctive character amongst the streets of Edinburgh. It stands in no need of architectural embellishment.

Raeburn's First Separate Studio

A Magnificent Street

Through each cross street, between St. Andrew and South Castle Streets, there is a different southern view, involving a different set of associations. From east to west, however, the dominant features of the prospect to the south are the piled-up buildings of the Old Town, and the massed batteries and barracks of the Castle. The corresponding view on the north leads off to the blue waters of the Forth and the hills of Fife.

The material facts of Raeburn's subsequent life are so few that it may be better to group them than to observe a strictly chronological sequence. In about a year, on the death of his elder brother William, he succeeded to the house and lands of St. Bernard's. This led him to give up Deanhaugh, and to move into St. Bernard's House, which had been his father's home, and was the place of his own birth. He never afterwards left it. To the mansion a good deal of land was attached. As the ground was adjacent to his wife's property, he was enabled to lay it all out upon one comprehensive plan. By doing so he became the real founder of the suburb of Stockbridge. He appears to have both let on perpetual lease or feued and built, and it was in connection with these matters that he developed that "abstract love" of law to which reference has been made.

He Succeeds to St. Bernard's House

In feuing or leasing he occasionally dealt with building speculators, who were not always punctilious about adhering to the letter of a bargain. A turn of taste was enough to lead to the abandonment of

Raeburn's plans; to bring them to reason he had recourse to law. If litigation led to acuteness, it also developed in Raeburn too absorbing an appreciation of the scientific subtleties of law. He did not, perhaps, become positively litigious, but he was somewhat too near Parliament House, the great centre of Scots law and lawyers. The combination is incongruous, but he succeeded in adding a love of law to a love of architecture, and, whether looked at as serious affections or as mere dissipations, they are both expensive pursuits. Cunningham adduces evidence of the real existence of both:—

Leases and Law-suits

"I have often heard a skilful builder speak of Raeburn's intimate acquaintance with all the economy of a structure. . . . Nor was a witty lawyer whom I knew, one long disciplined in Scottish law, less rapturous about the delight which the painter took in his own learned profession. 'Of all our clients he was the most enthusiastic, and at the same time the most acute and shrewd. He dearly loved a *ganging* plea [a lawsuit in progress], and smiled to see difficulties arise which promised a new case. He was, as Prior says of another matter, "a great lover of that same"; but do not misunderstand me: he desired to oppress no one, and never waged war but for his own rights, and to keep his plans free from blemish, perfect as he had laid them down.'"

Between painting, building, gardening, angling, and golf, Raeburn may be assumed to have spent the years immediately following his return from Rome. He

began then the energetic, many-sided, and exceptionally full life he lived to the last. It remains to be sketched a little more in detail as subsidiary to his artistic environment. There is only one further change to record. At his studio in George Street he had a gallery well worth visiting, but, as his practice increased, he found himself cramped for space, and as Edinburgh had nothing suitable to offer, he decided to build for himself.

Versatility and Success

The site he chose was in York Place, the eastward extension of Queen Street towards Picardy Place and the chain of streets uniting Leith to Edinburgh. The painting-rooms, according to Cunningham, were on the street floor above the area flat; the first floor was made into a spacious gallery, lighted from the roof, and measuring fifty-five feet long, thirty-five feet wide, and forty feet high. The building was No. 16, but is now No. 32 York Place, and must have been greatly altered internally since Cunningham wrote. It bears a carved palette on its façade, with an inscription referring to Raeburn's occupancy; and the name "Raeburn House" is fixed above the cornice at the spring of the roof. Mr. Colvin Smith, R.S.A., as mentioned in the next chapter, followed Raeburn. He took the place in 1827 and is understood to have remained in it down to his death in 1875. The studio is still tenanted by an artist, Mr. A. E. Borthwick, but the rest of the building is variously occupied. With the removal of his studio to York Place, in 1795, Raeburn settled himself for life.

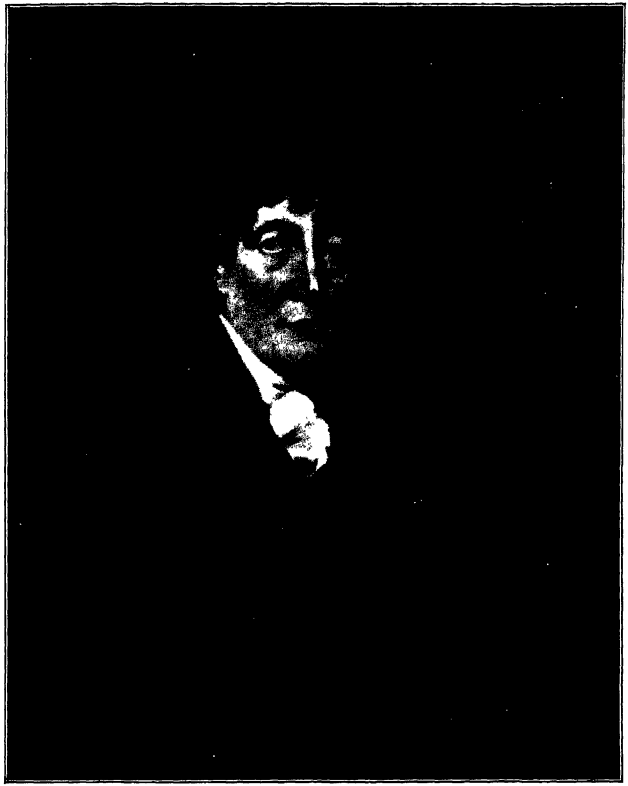
His York Place Studio

Sir Henry Raeburn, R.A.

At any period, either before or since his own day, Raeburn would have ranked high in art. He rose far above any of his Scots predecessors, and there is in his average work a happy mingling of realism and pure art which still gives a Raeburn a distinctive and commanding place in an exhibition gallery. But for prompt recognition by people of all ranks and tastes, for material success, for the attainment of a ruling position far above rivalry, and—by reason of the wealth of eminent and famous subjects at his command—for investing portraiture at once with the interest of a personal record and something of the dignity of history, his coming was most happily opportune.

Scotland at Close of 18th Century

At his birth, Scotland was passing through the throes accompanying a transfer of allegiance. The Stuart fever of 1745 had not exhausted itself. At any moment there might have been a recrudescence of disloyalty to King George. Jacobite sentiment was everywhere rampant, to the scandalised disturbance of douce Hanoverianism. Scotland was partner in the United Kingdom, but contained within herself separatist elements which modified the reality of the Union. Raeburn came at the parting of the ways, when the continued existence of the new was virtually assured, but the old was not discredited. If self-interest looked forward, sentiment looked back. Scotland preserved her individual nationality as a precious and distinct possession, which remained unaffected by political



Henry Mackenzie (p. 159).

measures. The national life survived in Kirk, Law and Law Courts, the system of education and Universities, in literature and language.

In her only recorded words, Lady Raeburn spoke in the broad, but musical, Scots vernacular. All over the country it remained the language of gentle and simple. It was difficult, even if it were desirable, for Scotsmen to realise the larger, grander, more inspiring life of a Briton. In Raeburn's day the intensely patriotic love concentrated upon Scotland interfered with dreams and visions of wider political relations.

Edinburgh still a Metropolis

The result was that Edinburgh was still a metropolitan centre, besides being a self-contained civic organism. It had institutions, interests, and customs peculiar to itself, its own society, its own code of manners. It had not fallen into provincialism. Countrymen everywhere, of all grades and engaged in all pursuits, churchmen, artists, lawyers, authors, looked to Edinburgh as *their* capital. For the most part, they had no ulterior objective in London. When Burns, for example, looked out into a wider world, he went to Edinburgh, and met many of the men amongst whom Raeburn's life was led. The Scottish type of man and woman still existed in all its purity.

In trying, if only for a moment, to restore Old Edinburgh, it is not to be forgotten that Raeburn got his lessons in goldsmithing in a forgotten nook in the Old Town. Cunningham speaks of the creation of the New Town of Edinburgh amid corn-

fields and copses, where grouse and blackcock had been sought for with dog and gun within the memory of men still living (1829), having awakened a spirit of "architectural adventure," which Raeburn shared.

At his birth, the braes between Stockbridge and the city were pure country, with only a house or cottage here and there. The city, as has been shown (p. 54), was confined to the ridge between the Castle and Holyrood. This crowding round the heart of historic Scotland, and seeing every day such monuments of the past as the Castle, St. Giles's Cathedral, Holyrood Palace, and the mansions of many of the nobility, all tended to keep alive the spirit of distinct nationality.

A Glimpse of Old Edinburgh

The people clung to the old, hallowed site. Wynds and "entries" ran down the steep incline on either side of the High Street into the valley east of the Nor' Loch on the north, and down into the ravine where the Cowgate leads westwards to the Grassmarket on the south. These narrow outlets existed all the way down to the Palace, descending into the North Back of the Canongate on one side and the South Back on the other. And on the hill and flanks houses rose like magnified versions of the cliff-dwellings of the Zunis or Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Arizona. They were truly "piles stupendous," twelve storeys high and even more.

When the city fairly overflowed its narrow bounds, the first tendency was southwards, past the southern city-wall in Infirmary Street, the College, and Old

Greyfriars' Church. In a short time, however, the movement in that direction was checked, and only revived about the middle of the nineteenth century. The burghers looked northwards and saw greater possibilities on the crest of the high bank running west from the Calton Hill and the ground gliding gently downwards from its summit towards the Forth. They accordingly planned a new city there, to relieve the congested High Street and Canongate and their gloomy offshoots. They had marked out the streets already named—Princes, George, and Queen Streets—many terraces, squares, places, and crescents besides, and were building when Raeburn was born. To secure communication between the Old Town and the New, they built the North Bridge while he was still a boy.

Laying out of New Town

This material expansion was therefore coincident with the artistic and intellectual Revival. The one almost seems the counterpart of the other. With the change, moreover, Edinburgh awoke to a new life. New tastes were engendered, and new civic ambitions were awakened. There does not appear to have been any diminution of the sentiment distinctively Scots—the great landmarks of history above-mentioned, the fortress, the cathedral, and the palace are there to this day—and even if there were, the feeling of nationality was replaced by local pride. The burghers had no need to pray for "a guid conceit o' oorsels." They already had it, and it was well-grounded. "Royal" Edin-

The "Modern Athens"

burgh became from year to year increasingly royal. It still continued to be the heart and brain of Scotland. "Modern Athens" sprang from the deserted wynds and courts of Old Edinburgh.

The fame of its University was carried far and its medical school especially had a universal reputation. The English-speaking world looked towards it as the centre from which were poured the romances of "The Author of 'Waverley.'" The poems of Scott, "Douglas" Home, and the successive editions of Burns made it a home of the Nine; "Maga" with "Christopher North" and *The Noctes Ambrosianæ*, combined with the *Edinburgh* and Francis Jeffrey to make it both feared and respected in criticism; Constable, Ballantyne, Blackwood made it a publishing centre; the Nasmyths, Thomson of Duddingston, and Raeburn himself gave it solid standing in the world of art, and in music its reputation rested upon George Thomson and Johnson, publishers, and Neil Gow, the fiddler.

Cunningham enumerates Blair, Hailes, Kames, Mackenzie, Woodhouselee, Robertson, Hume, Logan, Monboddo, Boswell, Blacklock, Adam Smith, Hutton, Ferguson, and Dugald Stewart as with others known to fame and distinguished for their wit living in Edinburgh, and mostly in friendly intercourse with each other. Blair was professor of rhetoric and *belles lettres;* Mackenzie was the kindly critic of Burns and author of *The Man of Feeling;* Hailes, Kames, Hume (not the historian but Professor of Scots Law), and Wood-

houselee were lawyers, and to their names may be added those of Lord Justice-Clerk Braxfield, Lord President Dundas, Lord Newton, Lord President Hope, Lord Eldin, and the Hon. Harry Erskine; Dr. James Hutton and Sir David Brewster may be taken to represent science; Robertson is the historian and Principal of the University; and Adam Smith is he of *The Wealth of Nations*. Edinburgh was full to overflowing of all kinds of activities, and its Society represented the nobility, the learning, the wit, and the beauty of Scotland.

Raeburn opened his studio in George Street in the same year that Burns published the first Edinburgh edition of his poems.

The Portrait-painter's Field

The Edinburgh here sketched is that into which the painter entered on his return from Rome, and between 1787 and 1823 it would almost appear that all the notables not only of Edinburgh but of Scotland—Highland chief and Lowland doctor and judge—passed through his studio. He painted the majority of those named, an entire generation of the men and women of Scotland, and, as Henley says suggestively, if he was fortunate in his subjects—"scarce anywhere could he have found better models"—they were thrice fortunate in their painter.

CHAPTER X.

HOME AND STUDIO.

Raeburn's productiveness—His son and the home circle—The fascinations of building—Hospitality and helpfulness—Anecdote of David Roberts, R.A.—Character and home-life—Raeburn in his easy-chair—Lady Raeburn and the youngsters—A pony and a queer character—Further traits of Raeburn—The delight of portrait-painting—His working habits—His treatment of sitters—His faculty of mind-reading—Cunningham at his studio—Raeburn's use of conversation—A sitter's experience—Dr. John Brown and Raeburn's platform—Sir Walter Scott's opinion of Raeburn—A formula of method.

It were difficult to imagine a more invigorating and more inspiring setting for an artist-life than that sketched in the last chapter. Raeburn had before him a field for portrait-painting which, in opulence and variety, rivalled that which surrounded Sir Joshua Reynolds. He was not so prolific as Sir Joshua—having probably painted some seven or eight hundred pictures to Reynolds's two thousand,—but he was hardly less successful, and the number of his portraits must have been kept down by the variety of his other pursuits, and by the conditions of his home life. He had his own children around him, his two step-daughters until they married, and in course of time grandchildren. In each one he found a new and distracting care.

The latter were the offspring of his second son, Henry. In 1812 Henry married a charming lady, Miss Charlotte White, of Howden, by whom he had a family. Raeburn appears to have held Henry in exceptional affection, and to have found a special pleasure in his society, for he took him and his family to live with him, and was often accompanied by him on his sketching excursions. It was no temporary arrangement, but lasted throughout their lives. As making yard-long ship models was one of the home occupations of their grandfather, trying them in Warriston Pond would no doubt be one of the forms of amusement he provided for Henry's youngsters. He once fell headlong into the Pond, and was with difficulty got out by his servant. Gardening made further inroads upon his time. He was a "keen" golfer; his love of the game waxed rather than waned, and he is found—7th June 1823—playing a round with Professor Duncan on Leith Links not many days before his death. Further time was necessarily consumed by occasional indulgence in fishing and archery.

The Household at St. Bernard's

But of all his pursuits, apart from painting, building appears to have been the most fascinating. It almost amounted to a passion, the existence of which was well known amongst his friends. Of this there is convincing evidence in a picture by Sir William Allan. The scene is laid in the house of James Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd, and the wale of Edinburgh's men of genius are gathered

Raeburn's many Pursuits

round the board. Professor Wilson has set the company in a roar with one of the sallies of wit characteristic of "Christopher North," and in the middle of the fun Raeburn sits absorbed, quietly tracing with his wet forefinger upon the table the foundation plan of his new town of Raeburnville at Stockbridge. Every one understood the allusion.

He kept, according to Andrew, practically open door to such foreigners and travellers of distinction as had any claim upon his attention. Young artists he was always ready to befriend, to advise and help, and they were not always thoughtful in making inroads into his busy life. If, by reason of professional engagements, he could not see them during the day, he made engagements with them for the early morning hours before sitters were afoot. As a critic of the work of others, when his opinion was asked, he was candid but liberal, hearty in praise, but a niggard in blame.

A Story of David Roberts, R.A.

His kindliness towards even a child touched by the art-genius may be best illustrated by anecdote. Walking one morning in the garden, he came upon a little boy, a stranger, who held up, it is said, a piece of paper to deprecate summary ejectment. Looking at it, Raeburn found it to be a fairly well done drawing of a Gothic window in his library. He told the young artist to come back when he liked, but by the gate, and not over the wall. He gave the boy all possible encouragement and instruction, and his kindness bore good fruit, for the



Henry Raeburn (p. 161).

young draughtsman of the window came in time to be David Roberts, R.A.

Roberts was the son of a poor shoemaker in the neighbourhood, and at the time of his adventure at St. Bernard's was attending a "penny schule" at Stockbridge. In after years he chose the line of art indicated by the drawing which brought him under Raeburn's notice, and rose to the highest rank as a painter of architectural subjects. He had no rival in the branch of his choice. He travelled far and wide upon the Continent, in Egypt and the Holy Land, and it is significant that to the first exhibition of the Scottish Academy his contribution was "The Chapel of St. Jacques, Dieppe." None can tell how far Raeburn's words of kindness and early lessons went to the making of a relatively great career. Roberts was the foremost of those who succeeded Nasmyth. In such manner, by instruction, sympathy, and encouragement, Raeburn lent his influence to the advancement of the art he practised.

Traits of Character

The traits of character revealed by incident and story explain how Raeburn won both the esteem and the affection of his associates. He was a large-hearted, pre-eminently a lovable man, never too deeply engrossed in his own manifold pursuits to be indifferent to those around him. He was too happy, too healthy to be irritable. He was of too warm a temperament to leave another in the chill of apathy.

There is a statement on record of his having lost

money by becoming security for a relative, and another of his son having got into commercial difficulties. The two rumours may refer to only one misfortune. If true, Raeburn does not appear to have made any sign of financial embarrassment, to have allowed loss either to disturb his equanimity or to break in upon the industry and regularity of habit with which he followed his profession. Of the home life at St. Bernard's there is the sketch by Mrs. Ferrier, Professor Wilson's daughter, fresh and vital, being, in fact, made from life. It appears to have been written for Dr. John Brown, and goes back to a period when the writer was about six years old. About 1820 her family lived in Ann Street, from which the avenue leading up to St. Bernard's was entered. She was a frequent visitor there in childhood, and what she saw may be held broadly descriptive of one side of life in the Raeburn household for twenty-five or thirty years:—

Sketch of the Home Life at St. Bernard's

"With the Raeburn family we were very intimate as children and school companions. Sir Henry and Lady Raeburn and their son [Henry] and his wife, with three children, comprised the family party. The great portrait-painter, as far as I can recollect him, had a very impressive appearance, full, dark, lustrous eyes, with ample brow and dark hair, at this time somewhat scant. His tall, large frame had dignity in it. I can well remember him seated in an arm-chair in the evening, at the fireside of the small drawing-room, newspaper in hand, and his family around him. His usual mode of

address to us when spending the evenings, while he held out his hand with a kind smile, was, 'Well, my dears, what is your opinion of things in general to-day?' These words always filled us with consternation, and we huddled together like a flock of scared sheep, vainly attempting some answer by gazing from one to the other; and then with what delight and sense of freedom we were led away to be seated at the tea-table, covered with cookies, bread and butter, and jelly! From this place of security we stole now and then a fearful glance at the arm-chair in which Sir Henry reclined.

"After tea we were permitted to go away for play to another room, where we made as much noise as we liked, and generally managed to disturb old Lady Raeburn, not far from the drawing-room, where we had all been at tea on our best behaviour in the presence of her great husband. This old lady was quite a character, and always spoke in broad Scotch, then common among the old families, now extinct. I can never forget the manner in which we uproarious creatures tormented her, flinging open the door of her snug little room, whither she had fled for a little quiet from our incessant provocations and unwearied inventions of amusement, which usually reached the climax of throwing bed-pillows at her and nearly smothering her small figure. At this juncture she would rise up, and, opening the door of a cupboard, would bring out of it a magnificent bunch of grapes, which she endeavoured to divide among us with these words of entreaty: 'Hoot, hoot,

Lady Raeburn among the Children

bairns, here's some grapes for ye; noo gang awa' an' behave yersels like gude bairns, an' dinna deave [deafen] me ony mair.' For a short time the remedy effected a lull in the storm, which, at the least hint, was ready to set in with renewed vigour. She would then throw out of a wardrobe shawls, turbans, bonnets, and gear of all sorts and colours, in which we arrayed ourselves to hold our Court, Ann Raeburn being very often our Queen."

Mrs. Ferrier's memory manifestly goes back rather to the wild ongoings of herself and Sir Henry's romping grandchildren than to the normal conduct of the household at St. Bernard's. Still, there is no other similar vignette of Sir Henry at home, no parallel sketch of a Scots tea-table, and nothing at all resembling the vigorous drawing of the meekly submissive Lady Raeburn, vainly flying from the rough youngsters who tyrannized over her, at one moment half-smothered with pillows, at another queening it over the assembly of the fancy-dress young courtiers. Out-of-doors the children enjoyed a similar freedom. Sweet must have been the temper and strong the affection that tolerated their familiarities and madcap pranks. Mrs. Ferrier continues:—

"Beyond the walls of the house we used to pass hours of a sunny forenoon in drawing a yellow child's coach, which held two of us, who were as usual enveloped in shawls and decorated with feathers and flowers for our masquerading. There was a black pony; I remember well its being led up and down the

long avenue by an old nurse with some one of the Raeburn children on it. When we were in quieter moods at play we used to go up four or five steps at the end of the passage leading to the great drawing-room, which was seldom entered except on company days. We children never quite felt at our ease when we stealthily opened the door of this large apartment; we imagined there might be a ghost somewhere.

Out-of-door Romping

"There was a curious old beggar-man I must not forget to mention, who was fed and supported by the family, by name Barclay, *alias* 'Shelly,' so called not from the poet, but from his shelling the peas, and who lived in some outhouse. This old creature was half-witted, and used to sweep the withered leaves from the lawn, manage the pigs, etc.; short of stature, of a most miserable aspect, on his head an old grey hat crushed over his face, which was grizzly with unshaven beard. He wore a long-tailed coat, probably one of Sir Henry's, and always had a long stick in his hand. We wished to be very familiar with him, but were never at our ease, owing to his strange appearance and his shuffling gait. He exercised a great fascination over us and we used to ask him to tell us stories, although he was nearly idiotic—'silly,' to use a common Scotch phrase. He often said, as he turned round and pointed to the banks of the river, 'Ou ay, bairns, I can weel remember Adam and Eve skelpin' [running] aboot naket amang the gowans [daisies] on the braes there.' At

Adam and Eve at St. Bernard's

times this dirty, uncanny old man got hold of a fiddle, on which he scraped with more energy than success."

All Raeburn's pleasures were simple and manly, and seeing him in his arm-chair at home aids the realisation of the truth of the encomiums passed upon him. His character was without spot or blemish; he wore "the white flower of a blameless life." His knowledge must needs have been varied, and as he had a quick sense of humour, a fund of anecdote, and could tell a Scots story with effect, it is easy to understand his attraction as companion, as host, and also as painter. In Cunningham's phrase, he did the honours of a handsome house and an elegant table "with all the grace of a high-bred gentleman."

More about Sir Henry's Character and Manner

One good feature of his character and conduct is that at home he was not given to talking about his work. Armstrong acutely notes that none of those who have described him outside his studio bring his art into the picture at all. When he daily turned the key in his studio door, he seems to have been careful to lock his art inside. He gave it so many hours a day and no more. He may either have thought it idle to brood over his work, to think of it except when he was actually doing it, or he may have formed the healthy habit of clearing his mind for other things.

In any case, there is no reason to doubt that, although no rapt enthusiast or morbid devotee, he was happy in his profession. He often, in fact, declared himself charmed with the work of the day, and spoke of

portrait-painting as the most delightful thing in the world. His sitters went to him in their happiest moods, with their pleasantest faces, and always left him delighted to find that they looked so well on canvas. According to Cunningham, he congratulated himself upon his profession's leading to neither discord nor dispute, "a circumstance much to the credit of his own tact and prudence." Of his working habits here is Cunningham's sketch:—

His Working Habits

"The motions of the artist were as regular as those of a clock. He rose at seven during summer, took breakfast about eight with his wife and children, walked up to his great room in 32 York Place, now [1829-33] occupied by Colvin Smith, R.S.A., and was ready for a sitter by nine; and of sitters he generally had, for many years, not fewer than three or four a day. To these he gave an hour and a half each. He seldom kept a sitter more than two hours, unless the person happened—and that was often the case—to be gifted with more than common talents. He then felt himself happy, and never failed to detain the party till the arrival of a new sitter intimated that he must be gone. For a head size he generally required four or five sittings; and he preferred painting the head and hands to any other part of the body, assigning as a reason that they required least consideration. A fold of drapery, or the natural ease which the casting of a mantle over the shoulder demanded, occasioned him

Rules with Sitters

more perplexing study than a head full of thought and imagination. Such was the intuition with which he penetrated at once to the mind, that the first sitting rarely came to a close without his having seized strongly on the character and disposition of the individual. He never drew in his heads, or indeed any part of the body, with chalk—a system pursued successfully by Lawrence—but began with the brush at once. The forehead, chin, nose, and mouth were his first touches. He always painted standing, and never used a stick for resting his hand on, for such was his accuracy of eye and steadiness of nerve that he could introduce the most delicate touches, or the utmost mechanical regularity of line, without aid, or other contrivance than fair off-hand dexterity. He remained in his painting-room till a little after five o'clock, when he walked home, and dined at six."

The above picture really belongs to the George Street period, and it is either Andrew or Dr. John Brown who shifts the scene to the York Place gallery. Regarding Raeburn's apparently intuitive grasp of character, it came of sympathy rather than analysis. He, perhaps unconsciously, brought himself *en rapport* with his subject as the first step to "painting the soul." He was himself so thoroughly human in all his tastes, pursuits, and even in his weaknesses—his interest in law, his quest of perpetual motion—that he readily understood humanity.

Cunningham visited the studio in 1805 or 1806, and his impressions are remarkably clear-cut in outline.



Sir John Sinclair (p. 163).

His astonishment was great; he had never before seen works of art, or at least of genius, and had no conception of the spirit and mind that could be embodied in colour. Being Scots he was especially struck by sundry Highland chiefs "all plaided and plumed in their tartan array," "whose picturesque dress and martial bearing contrasted finely with the graver costume and sterner brows of the Lowlanders." After these he was led to dwell upon the family groups, women and children set against landscape backgrounds, with streams dashing down wooded slopes or loitering in level holms. Allan had a clearer eye for the picturesque than the artistic. But that on which his attention finally settled "was the visible capacity for thought which most of the heads had, together with their massive and somewhat gloomy splendour of colouring." Raeburn certainly had a great advantage in the decided cast of feature found in his average sitter.

Inside the Studio

This chapter promises to be a mosaic—but a mosaic of living impressions, and so perhaps better than a *catalogue raisonné* of inaccessible works. In Raeburn's case, in an altogether exceptional way, the painter grows out of the man. "We see him," says Dr. John Brown, "in his spacious room in York Place, hearty and keen, doing his best to make his sitters look themselves and their best, instead of looking 'as if they couldn't help it.' He had a knack of drawing them out on what their mind was brightest, and making them forget and be them-

Dr. John Brown's Testimony

selves. For is it not this self-consciousness—this reflex action, this tiresome *ego* of ours which makes us human, to which man owes so much of his misery and greatness? What havoc it makes of photographs, unless they be of dogs or children, or very old people, whose faces like other old houses are necessarily picturesque!"

A Sitter's Experience

There are several descriptions of Raeburn at work, gauging his sitters as well as painting them, in both the intellectual and the artistic travail of production. One sitter innominate writes:—"He spoke a few words to me in his usual brief and kindly way—evidently to put me into an agreeable mood; and then, having placed me in a chair on a platform at the end of his painting-room, in the posture required, set up his easel beside me with the canvas ready to receive the colour. When he saw all was right, he took his palette and his brush, retreated back step by step, with his face towards me, till he was nigh the other end of the room; he stood and studied for a minute more, then came up to the canvas, and, without looking at me, wrought upon it with colour for some time. Having done this, he retreated in the same manner, studied my looks at that distance for about another minute, then came hastily up to the canvas and painted a few minutes more. I had sat to other artists; their way was quite different—they made an outline carefully in chalk, measured it with compasses, placed the canvas close to me, and looking me almost without ceasing in the face, proceeded to fill up the outline

with colour. They succeeded best in the minute detail —Raeburn best in the general result of the expression; they obtained by a multitude of little touches what he found by broader masses; they gave more of the man, he gave most of the mind.

"I may add that I found him well-informed, with no professional pedantry about him; indeed, no one could have imagined him a painter till he took up the brush and palette; he conversed with me upon mechanics and ship-building, and, if I can depend upon my own imperfect judgment, he had studied ship-architecture with great success. On one of the days of my sittings, he had to dine with me at the house of a mutual friend; our hour was six, and you know how punctual to time we of the North are; he painted at my portrait till within a quarter of an hour of the time, threw down his palette and brushes, went into a little closet, and in five minutes sallied out to dinner in a trim worthy of the first company. I sat six times, and two hours together."

A good deal more of Raeburn's method is described by Dr. John Brown, who seems to write from personal observation, although his name does not appear in the list of the painter's sitters. The Doctor's day was later; he knew Macnee; his own portrait was painted by Sir George Reid. He says that, "Like Sir Joshua, Raeburn placed his sitters on a high platform, shortening the features, and giving a pigeon-hole view of the nostrils. The notion is that people should be

Raeburn's Use of a Platform

painted as if they were hanging like pictures on the wall, a Newgate notion, but it was Sir Joshua's. Raeburn and I have had good-humoured disputes about this. I appealed to Titian, Van Dyck, etc., for my authorities; they always painted people as if they were sitting opposite to them, not on a mountebank stage, or dangling on the wall.

"This great question we leave to be decided by those who know best. His manner of taking his likenesses explains the simplicity and power of his heads. Placing his sitter on the pedestal, he looked at him from the other end of a long room, gazing at him intently with his great dark eyes. Having got the idea of the man, what of him carried farthest and 'told,' he walked hastily up to the canvas, never looking at his sitter, and put down what he had fixed in his inner eye; he then withdrew again, took another gaze and recorded its results, and so on, making no measurements. His hands are admirably drawn, full of expression, and evidently portraits."

One witness corroborates another, and the last to be summoned is Sir Walter Scott, whose recollection of the painter was communicated to Morrison after Raeburn's death. Sir Walter was much affected by the event, and regret may have vitalised his memory: "I never knew Raeburn, I may say, till the painting of my last portrait. His conversation was rich, and he told his story well. His manly stride backwards, as he went to contemplate his work at a proper distance, and,

Sir Walter Scott on Raeburn

when resolved on the necessary point to be touched, his step forward, were magnificent. I see him, in my mind's eye, with his hand under his chin, contemplating his picture; which position always brought me in mind of a figure of Jupiter which I have somewhere seen."

His method may, on Stevenson's suggestion, be reduced to a formula: (1) He posed his sitters upon a raised platform; (2) he placed his easel either beside or behind his model, and did not copy a face by constant reference to the original, but laid it down by a series of swift impressions committed to memory; (3) he used only unprepared blank canvas; (4) he painted with a free hand, without a mahlstick or other support; (5) he made no preliminary drawing, but began at once to model with the brush in colour; (6) he made no measurements; (7) he did not tire his sitters, but kept them only from an hour and a half to two hours; (8) the number of sittings ranged between four and six; (9) he aimed his conversation at bringing out character and living interest; (10) the forehead, chin, nose, and mouth were his first touches; (11) a fold of drapery, or the disposal of a mantle, cost him more study than a head. He made a pleasure of every sitting, a friend of every sitter. He did not treat his subjects as lay-figures, but reached truth by freeing them from self-consciousness and constraint, and infusing into them something of his own animation.

A Formula of Method

The difficulties of such a method are more obvious than its advantages, and yet the latter are great. Its simple directness made for naturalistic truth. Neither was time thrown away upon preliminaries, nor was the painter's first fresh enthusiasm allowed to evaporate while they were being performed. Having read as well as posed his sitter, he did not allow the first sitting to pass without stating the conception he had formed of his subject-model, and indicating the general artistic effect he intended to work out of the facts before him.

CHAPTER XI.

POSITION AND PRACTICE.

The end of Martin's rivalry—Convention and Nature—In charge of the genius of Edinburgh—Forced flesh-painting—Raeburn painted nothing but portraits—A layman's estimate of him—Artistry and likeness—His first commissions after settling—A soldier's portrait—The Clerks of Penicuik—The Fergusons of Raith—The Taits of Harvieston—A naval hero—Morrison *versus* Cunningham—A London counsellor—Raeburn's practice regarding backgrounds—The Spens portrait—"Singing Jamie Balfour"—Painter to the aristocracy.

WHEN Raeburn settled down to his life-work in Edinburgh he had many advantages, and he had no rival. Martin held out for a time, and predicted a subsidence of the tide which was carrying "the lad in George Street" over his head into favour and patronage. He was disappointed; Raeburn's reputation knew no ebb, and Martin gave up a hopeless competition in despair.

David Martin withdraws in Despair

Raeburn made no concession to the finical Ramsay-Martin convention. He had a feeling for colour which led him far from the lifeless monotony of Gavin Hamilton's palette and the poverty of Ramsay and his followers. He looked to no precedent, listened to no

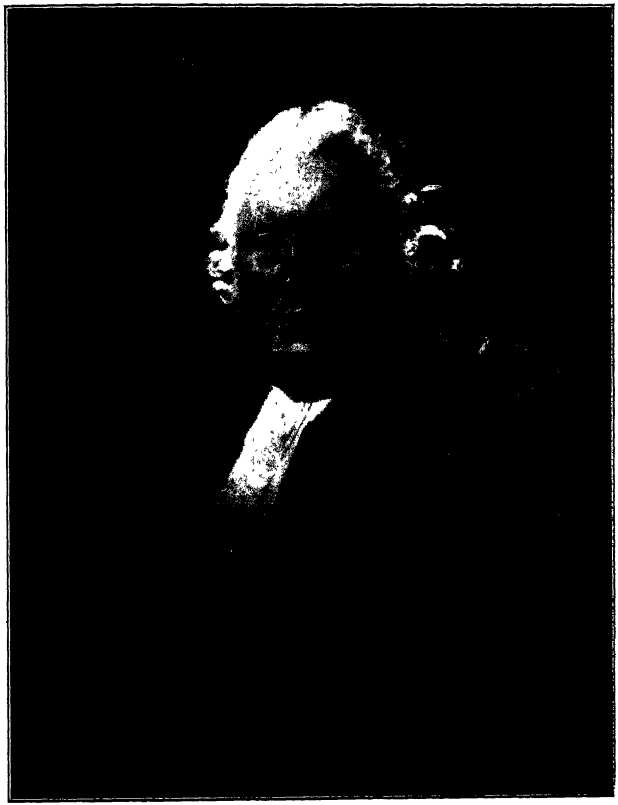
teaching that obstructed the direct way to Nature. His only standard was life. The crowd may neither understand Art nor be capable of appreciating artistic quality, but it can understand Nature, and is quick in its perception of the breathing realism of life.

Convention and Nature

It thus happened that, as one writer phrases it, the genius of Edinburgh was committed to Raeburn's keeping at a time when science, poetry, and philosophy had made the city a centre of intellect and creative imagination. It was Raeburn's good fortune not only to be afterwards honoured by his Sovereign, but throughout life to be portrait-painter extraordinary to rank, beauty, and genius generally. It is said that he was over-anxious to sustain his fame as a colourist, that he planted in the cheek the rose rather than the lily, and that thus his pictures contracted the vice of ultra-redness. The charge does not apply to the great majority of Raeburn's works. "Ultra-redness" is, as a rule, nothing more than the ruddy hue of healthy life.

A Clientèle of Genius, Rank, and Beauty

The judgment of a layman-critic is usually the most intelligible to laymen, and supplies the clearest explanation of their appreciation. Such a layman-critic in Raeburn's case is Dr. John Brown, and the elements a Raeburn yields to his analysis are exactly identical with those that appeal to the favourable judgment of the many. He has the courage of his convictions, and boldly places Raeburn beside the world's greatest portrait-painters. To justify ranking him so high, Dr.



Lord Newton (p. 164).

Brown enumerates Raeburn's breadth and manliness, his strength and felicity of likeness and character, his simplicity and honesty of treatment, all attributes that are found only in men of the first genius.

Raeburn stands nearly alone among the great portrait-painters in having never painted anything else. This, however, the Doctor insists, does not prove that he was without the ideal faculty. No man wanting it can excel as a portrait-painter, can make the soul look out from a face. The best likeness of a man should be "the ideal of him realised." As Coleridge used to say, "A great portrait should be liker than its original;" it should contain more of the best, more of the essence of the man than ever was in any one living look. "In these two qualities," Dr. Brown continues, "Raeburn always is strong; he never fails in giving a likeness, at once vivid, unmistakable, and pleasing. He paints the truth, and he paints it in love."

Ideality in Portrait-painting

Instead of realising the ideal of a sitter, it would possibly be nearer the truth to say that Raeburn generalised his sitters. He made no arbitrary selection from the elements they yielded to analysis, but massed the ingredients and painted the result. He thereby reached a larger, broader general truth than if he had restricted himself to one facial expression, one passing phase of character. He built men and women out of a number of rapidly consecutive impressions, each one true, but only a part of the complete truth—the individual sitter in outward form, inward character and

mind. By generalising particulars he reached composite individuality.

At the Top of his Profession

After his return from Rome to Edinburgh, till his death, his life is described as busy, happy, and victorious. Full of work, eager, hospitable, faithful in his friendships, homely in his habits, he was one of the best-liked men of his time. He made the double personal appeal, and he did the same in art. By reason of the happy union of supremely able artistry with realistic fidelity, he won the critical approbation of the guild, and the frank admiration of all ranks of people. Almost at a step he rose to the summit of his profession in Scotland.

As it is impossible to consider his pictures in chronological order, the best course to follow will be by selecting typical works. It is, however, almost certain that through Professor Andrew Duncan—his early employer for the Darwin trinket—he got his first opportunity, after his Italian experience, of attracting the attention of Edinburgh. This would appear from Duncan's "Tribute to the Memory of Raeburn." It is there stated that the Harveian Society virtually introduced him to public notice by employing him for a portrait of William Inglis, one of the original members of the Harveian, and, says the "Tribute," "the chief restorer of the *Ludi Apollinares* at Edinburgh, games annually celebrated on the Links of Leith, at which there is an admirable combination of healthful exercise with social mirth." The Society next commissioned

The Harveian Society

a portrait of its President, Alexander Wood. Raeburn also painted at this time his first portrait of Professor Duncan himself, founder of the Royal Public Dispensary. It is a full-length and became the property of the Royal Medical Society. Thirty years later, or thereabouts, he painted a second portrait of Dr. Duncan for the Royal College of Physicians.

The above triad of portraits — the "Duncan," "Wood," and "Inglis"—along with those of "Lord President Dundas" (see Chapter VIII.) and "Lord Eldin"—Raeburn's old "herrin'" friend, John Clerk —and others unknown caught the eye of Edinburgh. "Principal Hill of St. Andrews" is also grouped with early works, and as the "Eldin" is one of Raeburn's most penetrating interpretations of character, so the "Hill" is one of those richest in the promise of coming power. The "Eldin" here referred to is that done about 1787—not the one with the Crouching Venus (see Plate and page 80)—when the subject was plain John Clerk, a rising young counsel. It is a three-quarters length, in which Clerk appears in an advocate's wig and gown. There is no mistaking the lawyer-like expression—astute, knowing, satirical.

"Lord Eldin" and Raeburn's Character-reading

Shortly afterwards a co-ordinate triad of portraits passed into the Senate Hall of the University, those of "Principal William Robertson," the historian; "Professor Adam Ferguson," who also wrote history, and held successively the chairs of Natural Philosophy and Moral Philosophy;

A Learned Triad

and "Lord Provost Thomas Elder." The last-named is entered in Mr. Caw's Raeburn catalogue with a note that it was painted for Edinburgh University in 1798, eleven years after Raeburn took his George Street studio. It is certainly later in style than the "Robertson" and "Ferguson." The Lord Provost is painted in his official robes, and wears the chain of office. The "Ferguson" is warm in tone, the Professor dressed in black being set against a crimson curtain background. Principal Robertson is painted in clerical dress, possibly as signifying his well-known power in the pulpit.

A fourth University portrait is that of "Professor John Robison." Like the others, it is a three-quarters length. He held the chair of Natural Philosophy, and in the background is a telescope, telling of astronomical studies. His dress—a white night-cap, and dressing-gown of striped red—also points to the student of the night. It is of this dress that Dr. Brown—so often quoted and to be quoted as the possessor of a wide personal knowledge of Raeburn's subjects—writes in his enthusiastic way:—"Did you ever see a dressing-gown so glorified? And the night-cap, and the look of steady speculation in the eyes—a philosopher all over." There is no clue to the date of this picture; but considering the face and expression in connection with the Professor's death in 1805, there can be no great error in ascribing it to about the latter part of the 'nineties.

A Student of the Night

Somewhat earlier is a military portrait, that of

The Clerks of Penicuik

"Andrew Agnew," in the uniform—red with yellow facings and one epaulette—of a lieutenant of the Twelfth Regiment. It is of the picturesque military type, still brilliant although the painter has softened the bright colours into tone. The powdered hair he has used with rare intelligence to enhance the freshness of the carnations and to impart solidity to the finely modelled head. It is the work of a craftsman, skilled in handling his materials, who knew his trade.

A notable portrait of 1795 is that of "Chief Baron Robert Dundas of Arniston," but a more remarkable and an earlier work, belonging to about 1790, is an oblong canvas containing the two figures of "Sir John Clerk, Bart., of Penicuik, and Lady Clerk" (see Plate). *The Clerks of Penicuik*

They stand like lovers in a landscape, through which a stream makes its devious way, the same perchance that meanders through *The Gentle Shepherd*, by Habbie's Howe. Sir John wears a broad-brimmed, slouch hat, dark coat, and light breeches; Lady Clerk is in white, and wears no head-dress, leaving the sun to work its magic through her hair. His right arm is extended, as if pointing out something in the landscape to which, his face being turned towards his own left, he appears to be calling his companion's attention; his left arm is caressingly carried round his lady's waist. Her left hand hangs downwards, looping up her dress, in the sheen of which it is well-nigh lost; her right rests confidingly upon her husband's shoulder, over which it makes an attractively effective appearance.

Lady Clerk's face is indicative of attention but is somewhat stiffly constrained, hard-set, and artificial in respect of expression, as compared with Sir John's.

The peculiar effect of the work comes from the illumination. The light comes in from the left, high and behind the figures, so that as Sir John is taken full-front, except the slight turn of the head, his back is towards it. It falls upon Lady Clerk's right face, and across the kerchief folded upon her bosom, merely touching Sir John's extended arm and right side into shape. His face, nevertheless, is lighted up under the overhanging hat-brim, and that is the centre of the artistic problem and of the painter's ingenuity: Sir John's face is seen in the light reflected from Lady Clerk's dress.

To add to the interest of this work the Clerks were relatives of John Clerk, Lord Eldin, Raeburn's life-long friend, and it is, as Cunningham suggests, worthy of notice, as a work of the painter's youth or early manhood, and also, he adds, for the truth of the likenesses. The Clerks were, moreover, patrons of art. On the ceiling of Penicuik Hall, Alexander Runciman painted his twelve illustrations of Ossian, including the Bard singing to Malvina, and the really wonderful "Death of Agandecca."

An earlier and weaker work, belonging in all likelihood to the earlier 'eighties, is a portrait of "Sir Ronald Ferguson," in connection with which the entire Raith group, except "Mrs. Ferguson" and her two children already commented on (p. 90), may be con-

sidered. General Sir Ronald Ferguson, G.C.B., is represented as out shooting, with gun and dog, set in a wide landscape. The general conception of the picture brings it into line with the Clerk portraits. It may have belonged to the early 'nineties, a few years before a full-length of Sir Ronald done in 1795.

The Fergusons of Raith

Next comes a pleasing oblong, painted in prevailing tones of soft grey, in which are set against the sky two half-length youths, "Sir Ronald and Robert Ferguson." The elder, Sir Ronald, in grey, is in full light on the left, and holds a full-drawn bow; Robert is in shadow towards the right, dressed in brown and grey. The relative value of tints has been nicely calculated. It gives emphasis to the modelling, and makes the net colour-result a low-toned harmony. As a study in design it is remarkable, it might almost be called unique, in Raeburn's practice. Its outstanding features are the setting of Robert's shadowed head in a triangular frame composed of the arrow, the upper arm of the bow, and the bowstring, and the continuation of the hard line of the latter in the softer receding line of Sir Robert's cut-away coat, where also the upper triangle reappears in reduced form. This Robert, with his queer, "auld-farrant" face, may be the same who came to be Member of Parliament, and was painted by Raeburn a year or so before his death.

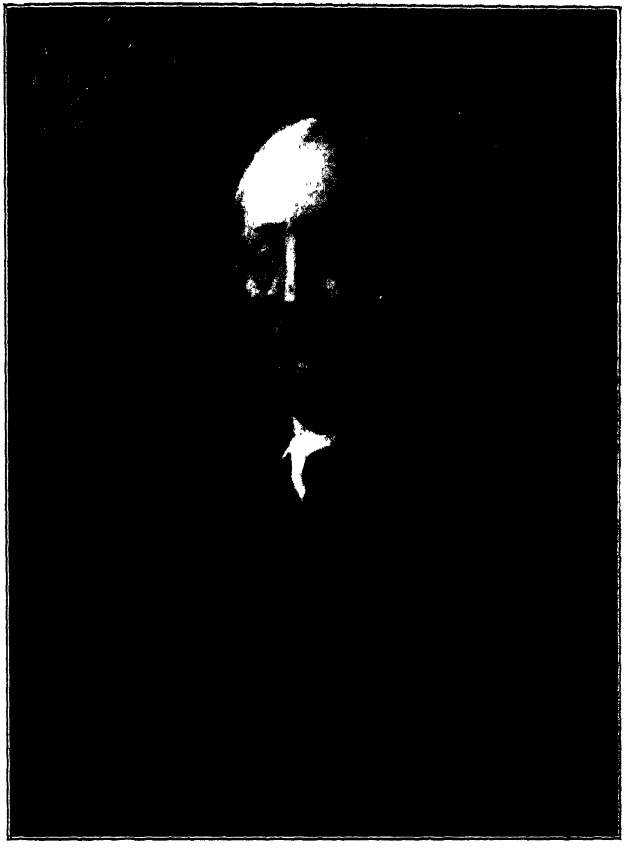
There is also a "William Ferguson, of Raith," with his third son, in which the harmony of brown and grey again makes itself felt, although the softer tones are

warmed by the red and yellow of the vest. This son, described by Mr. Caw as "William Ferguson of Kilrie, third son of William Ferguson of Raith," appears in a separate portrait, the most distinctly charming of the Ferguson group (see Plate). Its date is probably before 1790. The artist painted an oval frame as a setting for the head and bust of the boy, who wears a black jacket, a yellow vest, and a white shirt open at the neck and chest. The light comes in from the left, touching only the nose and right side of the face, which looks slightly downwards, and is for the most part in shadow. It is a fine, smiling, oval, well-bred face, of a distinctively aristocratic cast, after the well-known type found in Shelley, and Raeburn has made the most of it. He has produced a captivating portrait of great artistic merit, and redolent of youth, beauty, and pleasure.

A Charming Portrait

A few of Raeburn's most remarkable and suggestive portraits belong to the 'nineties, although, taking them in the mass, his latest works are his best. His "John Tait of Harvieston," with his grandson, is in every way noteworthy and interesting. The colour is rather low, pitched in a key of cold grey, but the characterisation is superb. The face is of the pronounced Scots type, which made the greater part of Raeburn's opportunity, strong and shrewd but kindly, stern and resolute of will but containing the elements of ready humour. It belongs to the closing years of the eighteenth century.

Another striking picture, "Viscount Duncan" (see



James Wardrop of Torbanehill (p. 165).

Plate), the hero of Camperdown, and captor of De Winter, belongs to the same period, having been painted in 1798 for the Incorporation of Shipmasters, Trinity House, Leith. It is a full-length; the Admiral wears the uniform of his rank; he stands beside a table bearing a chart, upon which the finger-tips of the left hand rest; the right hangs by the Admiral's side. Dr. John Brown thinks it of the true, heroic type, worthy of hanging beside Reynolds's Lord Heathfield, holding in his hand the Key of Gibraltar. The Doctor continues: "It is the incarnation of quiet, cheerful, condensed power and command. The eyes are bright, almost laughing, and at their ease—the mouth fixed beyond change, almost grim—the whole man instinct with will and reserved force. The colouring is exquisite, and the picture is in perfect condition." This is well within the mark, but in the drawing of the figure Raeburn is not seen at his best.

The Hero of Camperdown

Morrison reports a conversation between Sir Walter Scott and Raeburn, which can be applied to the Duncan picture, although, considering dates, it is more likely to have referred to the portraits of either Admiral Inglis or Admiral Maitland, or other hero of the sea.

"I wish," said Sir Walter, "that you would let us have a little more finishing in the backgrounds. Sir Thomas Lawrence, I understand, employs a landscape-painter."

Raeburn and Landscape Backgrounds

"Of that I do not approve," said Sir Henry. "Landscape in the background of a portrait ought to be nothing more than the shadow of a landscape; effect is all that is wanted. Nothing ought to divert the eye from the principal object—the face; and it ought to be something in the style of Milton's Death;—

> 'The other shape—
> If shape it might be call'd that shape had none
> Distinguishable in member, joint, or limb,
> Or substance might be call'd that shadow seem'd,
> For each seem'd either.'

I am at present painting an Admiral, and had some thought of asking my friend, the Minister of Duddingston, to paint me a sea; but, on second thoughts, I am afraid that Mr. Thomson's sea might put my part of the picture to the blush."

Writing in 1843, Morrison may not be quite accurate in his rendering of what passed, although from what is said of him by Sir Walter Scott and James Hogg, he must be held one of the most trustworthy of witnesses. His credibility is a matter of importance, as he is the only witness to be called in the last scene of all. Otherwise, in view of Raeburn's practice, the words put into his mouth are remarkable. They must be construed as indicating the strict subordination of setting to figure, of background to portrait-subject. Even to that extent they cannot be brought into accord with Cunningham. He says that one of Raeburn's critics objected to his

azure backgrounds, and that certain Royal Academicians were desirous of rooting out the heresies of the time. One of them wrote Raeburn as follows:—

Advice from a Royal Academician

"I congratulate you on the great improvements which you have made in your backgrounds. . . . Your pictures are now altogether beautiful. There is no beautiful head and finely-executed figure ruined by a systematic background; everything is in harmony, and your subject has fairplay. . . . I beg you to pardon this forwardness; I have ever felt a great interest in your reputation, and been much mortified when, year after year, you persisted in a manner that was so disadvantageous to your fame. Pursue your *present plan,* and your immortality is certain."

No hint is given by Cunningham of either the date or the writer of this letter. Mrs. Heaton, in her (1879) edition of Cunningham's *Lives,* says confidently, "This honest critic was no doubt Wilkie," a dictum at variance with both the style and the substance of the letter. It is not at all like an utterance of the diffident and reticent Sir David. In the first place, Wilkie was Raeburn's junior by nearly thirty years. Raeburn was exhibiting in the Royal Academy when Wilkie was a boy of seven. In the next place, it was not Wilkie's way to offer unasked criticism and gratuitous advice, and far less to predict immortality.

Cunningham goes on to say that the changes in the backgrounds, mentioned in the letter, were made in obedience to the reiterated remonstrances of friends

in London, and were in accordance with a taste which, without hesitation, Raeburn pronounced corrupt and unnatural. "He condemned the alterations, and said he had exchanged nature for affectation." This is hardly credible. It is at utter variance with Raeburn's position in the Morrison conversation. It is possibly appropriate to paint a Highland chief in tartan in a landscape of misty mountain and lonely valley, provided its realistic grandeur do not belittle his Chiefship. Such landscape ought to be but a shadow, a dream of his Highland home and realm.

Cunningham versus Morrison

The opinion, furthermore, is unavoidable, that Raeburn himself preferred the practice he followed in his best pictures. R. A. M. Stevenson goes right in the teeth of Cunningham, holding that, when he resorted to the unreal scenic background so much used by English portrait-painters, Raeburn did so against his own will and better judgment. It is unnecessary to go so far to the opposite extreme. In the mean lies the fact that, while his taste was immature and his style not fully formed, Raeburn painted scenes for backgrounds. He followed the same course in his later practice when his subject seemed to require it. Stevenson appears to go nearer the absolutely right construction of Raeburn's habit when he says that the prevailing English fashion did not agree with his direct and honest style of work, with the bold, square touch by which he emphasised the light in the variously inclined planes of

Raeburn's Practice in Backgrounds

the flesh. What follows is unquestionably sound:—Raeburn's own style "was incompatible with pretty elegance, spotty colouring, and theatrical disposition of the canvas. It went best with the solemn, natural simplicity of Velasquez, the Dutchmen, and the Flemings." To assume that Raeburn was so little of an artist as not to see this for himself is folly. All such reasoning, of course, runs directly counter to Cunningham, and throws doubt—if it can be said to leave a doubt—upon the distinction he imputes to Raeburn, between nature and affectation.

An extreme illustration of the point occurs in the portrait of "Dr. Nathaniel Spens" (see Plate), painted in 1791 for the Royal Company of Archers, of which he was a leading member. The Doctor stands in archer's uniform, with his bow full-drawn, against a landscape background. The portrait carries to a white heat the realistic appreciation of Dr. John Brown. He knows no nobler portrait. He cannot get away from the eye, the firm legs, the gloved hands, the cock of the bonnet. He pounces upon "the emblem dear" at the archer's feet —"a sturdy Scotch thistle bristling all over with the *nemo me*." "This great picture is done to the quick, tense with concentrated action." "There is true genius here."

An Archer at the Butts

So far as they go, these opinions are right, even if somewhat over-stated; but realistic feeling, as distinguished from critical judgment, rarely goes below the artistic surface. In such cases Raeburn adapted

treatment to subject, style to patronage. He tempered art and craftsmanship with politic judgment. The Royal Archers wished the presentment of a prominent member to hang in their hall. Raeburn supplied them with what they sought—a living bowman taken in the act. He did not try for the subtlety of Rembrandt, or the grave, mysterious simplicity of Velasquez. He was content to paint life and nature in a plainly literal manner, and these qualities brought back the attention of the art-world to Raeburn when this Spens portrait was exhibited at Burlington House in 1875 or thereabouts. It re-established him in popular favour, and made his power and skill known. The combination of literalness with restraint makes the greatness of the picture. It is a strong, thoroughly masculine work, and if the design is somewhat fragmentary, the modelling is solid and, with the well-calculated pose and action, makes for the naturalism at which the painter aimed.

"Singing Jamie Balfour"

To about the same time, or it may be a year or two later, belongs the portrait of "James Balfour," done for Golfers' Hall, Leith. "Singing Jamie" is represented in the act of singing his favourite song, "When I hae a saxpence under my thoom [thumb]." The picture has a curious little history, which Dr. Brown must be allowed to tell:—

"You hear the refrain—'Toddlin'hame, toddlin'hame; Round as a neep [turnip] she cam' toddlin' hame.' Mr. Melville, of Hanley, with whom have perished so

many of the best Edinburgh stories, used to tell how he got this picture, which for many years hung and sang in his hospitable dining-room. It was bought, at the selling-off of the effects of the old Leith Golf-house, by a drunken old caddie for 30s. Mr. Melville heard of this, went to the ancient creature, and got it for 40s. and two bottles of whisky. James Stuart of Dunearn offered him (Mr. Melville) £80 and two pipes of wine for it, but in vain. Sir David Wilkie coveted it also, and promised to pay for it by a picture of his own, but died before this was fulfilled."

It is catalogued now as belonging to Mrs. Babington. In this case also the naturalistic quality of the portrait is that which carries it into favour. It may be incidentally artistic, but its chief value lies in its realisation of "Singing Jamie Balfour."

Patrons in the Aristocracy

Taking all the portraits mentioned collectively, it is seen that Raeburn did not paint pictures of or for the *bourgeoisie*. Edinburgh was aristocratic, and he painted chiefly the aristocracy of either title or intellect. That accounts for much of his good fortune in having so many sitters representative of Scotland. He not only painted the genius of Edinburgh—he perpetuated the Scottish type.

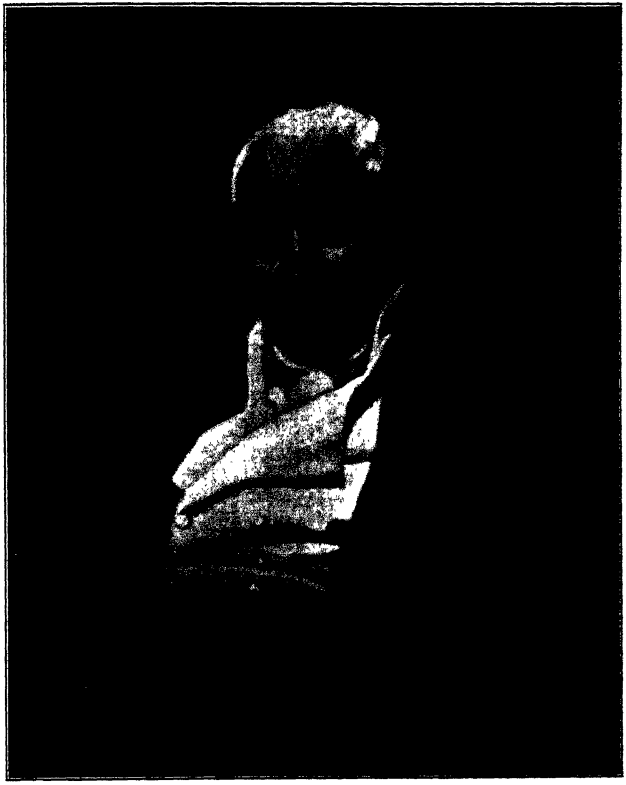
CHAPTER XII.

PORTRAITS OF BURNS AND SCOTT.

Did Raeburn paint an original portrait of Burns?—The poet's movements—Raeburn's whereabouts—The Nasmyth portraits of Burns—Raeburn's evidence on the subject—Portraits of Sir Walter Scott—One painted for Constable, 1808—How it got to Dalkeith Palace—A second full-length now at Abbotsford—Its history—Two half-lengths of Scott—Scott's opinion of the two—A tangled story cleared up—Allan and Raeburn.

Did Burns Sit to Raeburn?

FREQUENTLY has the question been raised, and lightly dismissed unanswered, as to whether Raeburn painted an original portrait of Robert Burns. Both circumstantial and written evidence favour a negative answer. When the poet first went to Edinburgh, on the 27th of November 1786, Raeburn was in Rome. Burns lingered in the city until the following summer, made a Border tour, a short run in the Western Highlands, paid Ayrshire a flying visit, and was back in Edinburgh on the 7th of August 1787. On the 25th of the same month he started upon his long Highland tour with "Willie" Nicol, and returned to Edinburgh on the 16th of September. Early in October while waiting for a settlement with Creech, his publisher, he went with Dr.



John Wauchope (p. 165).

Adair to Harvieston, going by Stirling and up the Devon Valley. He was in Edinburgh again on the 20th of October, and went off on an unknown date to look after the farm he ultimately took in Dumfriesshire. He also visited Ayrshire; early in December he met with the accident which confined him to his lodgings for a few weeks. In spring, in the middle of the Clarinda episode, he went to Glasgow, Mossgiel, and Dumfries, and in March, 1788, was again in Edinburgh, after taking Ellisland, and seems to have left the capital finally on the 24th.

Raeburn would probably be settling into his George Street studio when Burns was touring in the north. Prior to that the poet-artist had met many of the painter-artist's friends and subjects—including Blair, Dugald Stewart, and Henry Mackenzie. It may, accordingly, seem strange that, although moving in the same circle and knowing the same people, the painter and the poet should never have met, but there is no evidence that they did. It must be remembered that Raeburn was in Rome during Burns's halcyon days, in 1786-87, in the society of the capital, and when Raeburn came home Burns's time and attention were fully occupied throughout the autumn and winter of 1787-88, until he left the city.

There are, nevertheless, several references to Raeburn in connection with portraits of Burns, which may here be recounted preparatory to their dismissal. Alexander Nasmyth painted three portraits of Burns —the original in the National Gallery of Scotland,

one painted for George Thomson, and the one known as the Auchendrane portrait. The Thomson picture passed in 1858 to the National Portrait Gallery, London. It is catalogued as having been painted by Alexander Nasmyth, and retouched by Sir Henry Raeburn. The latter statement is not known to be supported by any testimony apart from the catalogue.

The Nasmyth Portraits of Burns

Robert Brydall says that to enumerate Raeburn's portraits would be to name the most eminent Scotsmen of his day, "including the poet Burns, whose portrait he painted about 1803 [when Burns had been seven years in his grave], for Cadell and Davies, which is now, unfortunately, lost." The statement of fact is true, but the language is misleading.

There is Raeburn's own evidence upon the subject. There were in the Craibe-Angus collection five documents bearing upon it, the genuineness of which has not been questioned. In a letter to Cadell and Davies, of the 14th of November 1803, Raeburn says: "I have finished a copy of Burns, the poet, from the original portrait painted by Mr. Nasmyth. I have shown it to Mr. Cunningham, who thinks it very like him." The reference here must be to Alexander Cunningham, Burns's friend and correspondent, who sat to Raeburn for his portrait, and thus in all likelihood came to be asked for his opinion of the Burns. On the 11th of December, Raeburn again wrote to the London publishers: "I enclose you a receipt for the case con-

Raeburn's Own Evidence

taining Burns's Portrait. I have twenty guineas for a portrait the size of Burns's. I do not wish you to remit the money to me." The receipt is that of the shipping company, the portrait having been forwarded from Leith, and Raeburn drew a bill for £21 upon the publishers in payment of the copy. Finally, he wrote them on the 22nd of February 1804: "Nothing could be more gratifying to me than the approbation you expressed of the Copy I made for you of Robt. Burns." These extracts must be held to settle the question. So far as known, Raeburn had no sittings from Burns, and painted no original portrait of him.

Portraits of Sir Walter Scott

Next to Burns comes Scott, of whom Mr. Caw enumerates six portraits. One of these was done in Scott's youth, and one, in the possession of the Baroness Burdett-Coutts, is a replica. About the remaining four, which hold a place in literature as well as art, there is a great diversity of opinion, and there are many variant statements. The first was painted for Constable in 1808. On the sale of his effects it was acquired by the Duke of Buccleuch, and after hanging for a time in Dalkeith Palace was transferred to the ducal residence of Bowhill. It is a full-length. Scott, dressed in black and wearing Hessian boots, sits upon a ruined wall with "Camp" at his feet, and in the distance are Hermitage Castle and the mountains of Liddesdale. "Camp" is the English bull-terrier of which Sir Walter wrote on the day of its death, that he could not dine out because "a very dear friend" had died.

The 1808 Portrait of Scott

Lockhart calls this a noble portrait. Dr. John Brown asks if there was ever a more poetic portrait of a poet. More critical testimony is that of Mr. John B. Saurey Morritt, who, writing of Scott as he appeared in 1808, says:—

"His person at that time may be exactly known from Raeburn's first picture, which had just been executed for his bookseller, Constable, and which was a most faithful likeness of him and his dog 'Camp.' The literal fidelity of the portraiture, however, is its principal merit. The expression is serious and contemplative, very unlike the hilarity and vivacity then habitual to his speaking face, but quite true to what it was in the absence of such excitement. His features struck me at first as commonplace and heavy, but they were almost always lighted up by the flashes of the mind within."

Of this portrait Scott wrote to the Constables on the 12th of January 1809, asking that it should be considered as done at his debit and for himself, and promising that it should be forthcoming for the fulfilment of any engagement they might make for having it engraved. In his Journal, on the 12th December 1826, there is a very touching reference to it. That was the year (1825-26) of the great failure, when Ballantyne went down, involving Sir Walter Scott to the extent of £130,000. He writes of driving to Dalkeith but missing the Duke, and continues:—"One thing I saw there which pleased me much, and that was my own

picture, painted twenty years ago by Raeburn for Constable, and which was to have been brought to sale among the rest of the wreck, hanging quietly up in the dining-room at Dalkeith. I do not care much about these things, yet it would have been annoying to have been knocked down to the best bidder even in effigy; and I am obliged to the friendship and delicacy which placed the portrait where it now is." This portrait was subsequently hung in the Library at Bowhill. How it got there will be explained by-and-by.

The 1809 Portrait of Scott

Raeburn painted a second full-length portrait of Scott in the following year, 1809, for which he had several additional sittings. He added to the canine companions of his sitter, and changed the background to the valley of the Yarrow. This picture had a curious history before it reached Abbotsford. In a note to Scott's Journal, Mr. David Douglas, who both edited and published that most interesting of Diaries, says that this portrait was handed over to Mr. James Skene, of Rubislaw, at the time of the novelist's financial catastrophe, and remained in his possession until 1831, when he returned it. The circumstances are detailed by Mr. Douglas in another note (ii. 368). He says:—

"Mr. Skene tells us that when No. 39 Castle Street was 'displenished' in 1826, Scott sent him the full-length portrait of himself by Raeburn, now at Abbotsford, saying that he did not hesitate to claim his protection for the picture, which was threatened to be

paraded under the hammer of the auctioneer, and he felt that Skene's interposition to turn aside that buffet might admit of being justified." Mr. Douglas goes on to quote from Mr. Skene's *Reminiscences,* where it is said that when Scott's health began to break, and the plan of his going abroad was proposed, Mr. Skene thought it would be proper to return the picture. To that end he had a most successful copy made of it for himself, "an absolute facsimile."

This action of Mr. Skene's very aptly forestalled a wish expressed in a pathetically confused letter to him from Scott, dated from Abbotsford the 16th of January 1831. Scott asks Skene to have the portrait copied, and to send him the copy, "as Walter will probably be anxious to have a memorial of my better days." As noted by Mr. Skene, he kept the copy and returned the original. On the 16th of June 1826, Scott wrote in his Journal, "I got yesterday a present of two engravings from Sir Henry Raeburn's portrait of me, which (poor fellow) was the last he ever painted, and certainly not his worst." The portrait referred to is described as that painted for Lord Montagu in 1822, but that is a mistake. Mr. Douglas's note is slightly obscure, as he obviously confounds the original with what he calls the replica.

Raeburn painted two half-lengths of Scott in 1822-23 (see Plate), of which Morrison's account is the most circumstantial. He says that Raeburn had expressed regret to him that Sir Walter had declined again to sit to him, as he thought that his previous portraits of Scott

had a heavy look. He found the romancist a restless sitter. Scott, on the other hand, complained, "Not only myself, but my very dog growls when he observes a painter preparing his palette." Morrison, however, succeeded in persuading Sir Walter to sit, although he did it grudgingly.

"I have been painted so often," he said, "that I am sick of the thing, especially since, with the exception of Raeburn's old portrait, I can only see so many old shoemakers or blue-gown beggars. Even Lawrence, whose portrait is in progress, has been thinking more of the poet than the man.

Scott an Unwilling Sitter

'The poet's eye in a fine frenzy rolling'

is what he is aiming at; but I anticipate a failure. Raeburn's portrait looks down, and Sir Thomas's too much up. I think that something between the two would be better; I hate attitudes."[1]

When Scott met Raeburn for the first sitting, he told him he might find a customer for the picture.

"You may for a copy, Sir Walter," Raeburn replied; "but the portrait that I am now painting is for myself, although it may find its way, in time, into your own family."

A copy of this portrait, Morrison adds, was painted

[1] In the Messrs. Jack's Edinburgh edition of Scott (1903) are no fewer than twenty-one portraits of Sir Walter, including those by Sir Edwin Landseer, Sir William Allan, and one, comparatively little known, by Sir Francis Grant.

for Lord Montagu; "but the original is in the possession of the painter's only son, Henry Raeburn, Esq., of St. Bernard's." According to Mr. Douglas, Lord Montagu got his choice of the two. The one he took remained at Ditton, near Windsor, until 1845, when, on Lord Montagu's death, it became the property of his son-in-law, the Earl of Home, and was removed (1889) to The Hirsel, Coldstream. Mr. Douglas continues:—"The replica remained in the artist's possession, and the engraving referred to [by Scott] was made from it by Mr. Walker, and published in 1826. . . . I do not know what became of the original, which may be identified by an official chain round the neck not introduced in the Montagu picture." Morrison describes this "official" chain as "such as Scott used to hang his whistle or dog-call by," and, to make its identity sure, adds that the same kind of chain is painted round Sir Walter's neck in the last portrait by Raeburn. As Sir Walter gave Morrison a medallion portrait of himself—a glass casting from the wax by Henning—suspended from a similar chain, the latter may have had it before him as he wrote.

The Later Half-lengths of Scott

In the quotation from Mr. Douglas the words "replica" and "original" are undoubtedly applied to one and the same picture. Of the two half-lengths, which were painted at the same time, Mr. Douglas has traced one to The Hirsel. He says the other remained in the artist's possession. That, however, is the one with the chain round the neck. On Raeburn's death it



Mrs. James Campbell (p. 169).

passed to his family, and, according to the catalogue, was lent by them to the Raeburn exhibition of 1876. It was acquired from them by Mr. Arthur Sanderson. This, and not the Montagu copy, is the picture that was engraved in stipple by Walker in 1826. The two pictures are very much alike, and Lockhart describes the Montagu as "a massive, strong likeness, heavy at first sight, but which grows into favour upon better acquaintance—the eyes very deep and fine."

Scott's opinion of Raeburn's work would have been interesting, but unhappily the statements of it do not agree, and to Sir Walter's own words the preference must needs be given. Morrison thinks the half-length by far the best likeness of Scott ever painted. "After two or three sittings," he says, "Sir Walter was highly pleased. 'I wish,' he said to Raeburn, 'none but your portraits of me were in existence. A portrait may be strikingly like, and yet have a very disagreeable effect.'"

It happens that there are two letters extant, in one of which Sir Walter gives an estimate of Raeburn widely different from that ascribed to him by Morrison, and yet reconcilable with it. They refer to an unpainted portrait, and come in between the full-lengths of 1808-9 and the half-lengths of 1822-23. The first, from the Duke of Buccleuch to Scott, seems to have been written in April 1819, and contains a remarkable specimen of criticism.

"My prodigious undertaking," the Duke writes, "of a west wing at Bowhill is begun. A library of forty-

one feet by twenty-one is to be added to the present drawing-room. A space for one picture is reserved over the fire-place, and in this warm situation I intend to place the Guardian of Literature. I should be happy to have my friend 'Maida' appear. It is now almost proverbial, 'Walter Scott and his Dog.' Raeburn should be warned that I am as well acquainted with my friend's hands and arms as with his nose—and Van Dyck was of my opinion. Many of R.'s works are shamefully finished—the face studied, but everything else neglected. This is a fair opportunity of producing something really worthy of his skill."

Scott replied from Abbotsford, on the 15th of April 1819, and said he would be proud and happy to sit, but——

Scott's Opinion of the Full-length Portraits

"I hesitate a little about Raeburn, unless your Grace is quite determined. He has very much to do; works just now chiefly for cash, poor fellow, as he can have but a few years to make money; and has twice already made a very chowder-headed person of me. I should like much (always with your approbation) to try Allan, who is a man of real genius, and has made one or two glorious portraits, though his predilection is to the historical branch of the art."

The Allan referred to is Sir William Allan, *P.*R.S.A., whose works in history and romance seem to have appealed to Scott on the side of his imagination and antiquarianism, and so to have led to the preference expressed in this letter. In portraiture, Allan does not

approach Raeburn, although it must be admitted that in the full-lengths Scott does look somewhat "chowder-headed," dull, and uninspired. His depreciation of Raeburn is manifestly due to his not having then seen the later half-lengths painted three years subsequently, which justify the change of opinion mentioned by Morrison. They, moreover, lend the latter a credibility which might otherwise be in doubt, for it must be kept in mind that he wrote in 1843, and it takes a long memory accurately to report words spoken twenty-one years previously. The portrait asked by the Duke of Buccleuch was never painted, and the "warm situation" reserved for it in the library at Bowhill came in that way to be ultimately filled by the first full-length painted for Constable in 1808.

Lord Montagu's Half-length of Scott

Another discrepancy arises upon a minor point. As mentioned above, Morrison makes out that Scott refused to sit a third time to Raeburn, and that it was only by his intervention that Sir Walter at length reluctantly consented to do so. This is either a mistake, or applies exclusively to the "chain" portrait Raeburn painted for himself. Otherwise, the facts, as given by Lockhart, are that Lord Montagu asked Scott to sit, "without delay for a smaller picture on his own behalf." A hearty and prompt assent is given in a letter from Abbotsford, of the 27th of March 1822. Sir Walter wrote that he would arrange with Raeburn when he returned to Edinburgh in May.

The result, of course, was the Earl of Home's half-length, now at The Hirsel, the ideal Scott, nowise "chowder-headed," but intellectual, full of the fire of imagination, and touched with humour. This is the portrait reproduced in our Plate. One feature recalls a phrase of Dr. John Brown—"the pleasant mouth that has a burr in it."

CHAPTER XIII.

SOME PORTRAITS OF PROMINENCE.

A lesser Arnold—Francis Horner, M.P.—Raeburn's gallery of friends—Jeffrey, Cockburn, and Henry Mackenzie—The Raeburn family group—Raeburn in collaboration—Sir Henry and Lady Raeburn—"The gem of all"—The Macnab—Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster—Raeburn's highest as executant—Lord Newton—The Wardrop and Wauchope portraits—A summary of practice.

SOME of Raeburn's portraits are notable by reason of their subjects; others as works of art apart from their subjects. Only a lesser Arnold was "Dr. Alexander Adam," Rector of the Royal High School of Edinburgh, and his portrait, painted about 1808, is one of Raeburn's most successful readings of character (see Plate). He had firmness for rule, and sympathy to win his pupils' affection. Fourteen of them commissioned the portrait. In gown and dress of black, with his fine sagacious face, so curiously expressive of love and laughter, he looks the ideal Rector. The right hand is extended as if to still the unseen boys. It recalls to Dr. John Brown the story of Adam when dying. Lifting up his thin hand, he said: "But it grows dark, boys; you may go." If not himself renowned, he won renown

Portrait of Rector Adam

through such pupils as Scott, Jeffrey, Brougham, and Cockburn.

Another of his pupils was "Francis Horner," whose portrait Raeburn has also made a revelation of a singularly attractive personality. There was ability but no greatness in Horner, although his practical achievement might have been great had he, who died at thirty-nine, been permitted to plough his furrow to the end. He was beloved by his friends and universally esteemed. Of him Sydney Smith said: "The commandments were written on his face, and I have often told him there was not a crime he might not commit with impunity, as no judge or jury who saw him would give the smallest degree of credit to any evidence against him." His nature was sweet, his character spotless, and he possessed a full measure of the practical moral qualities—industry, method, consistency, and the reasonableness which enabled him to measure himself, and to know the work in life he was fitted to do. He sat for a time in Parliament, and during his candidature succeeded so far in putting aside the proprieties that, *mirabile dictu*, he "kissed some women that were very pretty." But that side of politics is not the one best fitted to what is known of the prudent, modest, common-sensible Francis Horner. In the portrait, Raeburn shows more of the well-intentioned, virtuous citizen and student, than of the Parliamentarian, more of the kindly controller of

Sydney Smith on Francis Horner

Trials of a Parliamentary Candidate

affection than of the political partisan. The original was painted in 1812 for Leonard Horner; the above opinion is based upon a replica done in 1817 for the Speculative Society. The face is not strongly marked or decided in either feature or expression; its wise neutrality made the painter's difficulty, and is the evidence of his skill both in art and in getting at the inner man.

The Painter's Private Collection

Besides Mr. Sanderson's Scott, Raeburn painted many portraits for his own private collection. One of these was that of "Lord Jeffrey," which went into the possession of the Earl of Rosebery. The brown eyes are especially fine, full of the light of intelligence, and the expressive mouth is shapely. The whole face is eloquent of such a character as imagination might ascribe to Jeffrey, acuteness for the advocate, balance and penetration for the judge and critic, a kindly suavity for the man. "Lord Cockburn" was also one of the family group, his speaking eyes somewhat sorrowful but hinting at a smile hiding behind the sadness.

"The Man of Feeling"

A third was "Henry Mackenzie," author of *The Man of Feeling* (see Plate), which went out of the family circle into the National Portrait Gallery, London. It is a work of much interest, by reason of both quality and subject. The face is the key to a life, a type of manhood, amiable and reflective but uninspired, the shapely lips compressed but expressive of neither power

nor firmness of will. Mackenzie wrote in a style of freezing and mannered propriety much sad and saddening fiction, composed holding his handkerchief to his glistening face with a pen dipped in tears, and kept his readers with constantly-swimming eyes. One critique goes further to his immortal credit than all else he wrote, and that was his generous appreciation of Burns and the recognition of his genius. He had wit and penetration enough to have something more than a glimmering idea of the power and originality of the Bard who, like a new-risen star, had burst upon Edinburgh's society and men of learning. He opened the way which led up to Carlyle and Taine.

The Raeburn Family Group

The Raeburn group consisted of five, besides a portrait of Sir Henry's eldest son Peter, painted by the lad himself when dying of consumption, and given by him to his mother. A second was a portrait of Sir Henry's step-daughter, Jacobina Leslie, who married Daniel Vere of Stonebyres, Sheriff-Substitute of Lanarkshire. Mrs. Vere is taken as if asleep, her head on a pillow. Of the others Dr. John Brown's racy notes may be given in very slightly altered form. He mentions a very curious portrait of Raeburn's son Henry and his horse—not that now at Dalmeny in which the boy is mounted on a grey pony. It seems that Sir Henry only painted the horse, which is strong, real, and perfectly drawn, and that the son was painted after his father's death by John Syme, "remembered by some of us for his wooden pictures. Anything



Mrs. Campbell of Baltimore (p. 170).

more ludicrous than the strength of the horse's portrait and the weakness of the man's I never saw. It is like meeting with a paragraph by the worthy Tupper, or some other folk we know, in a page of Thackeray or Swift."

In the Dalmeny picture, painted in the 'nineties, the boy and pony are in full-length (see Plate). The drawing is admirable and the handling firm. The light comes in high from the left, and the face is in shadow except the lower side of the cheek and chin, which are partly illuminated by the light reflected from the white flowing collar. The difficulties of the colour-scheme, which includes a yellow sky and a scarlet jacket, have been successfully overcome. Probably about the same time Sir Henry painted Lady Raeburn; his own portrait belongs to about 1815. Dr. John Brown saw them at Charlesfield when in the possession of L. W. Raeburn, Sir Henry's grandson, and youngest son of Henry.

Sir Henry and Lady Raeburn

"The drawing-room," he says, "is crowded with perfections. When you enter, above the fireplace is his own incomparable portrait, than which—as our President of the Royal Academy says—no better portrait exists; it glorifies the little room, and is in perfect condition; the engraving gives no full idea of the glow of the great dark eyes, the mastery of touch, the ardour and power of the whole expression. Opposite him is his dear little wife, comely and sweet and wise, sitting in the open air, with a white head-dress, her face away to one side of the

picture, her shapely, bare, unjewelled arms lying crossed on her lap."

Next to the very powerful portrait of Dr. Andrew Thomson, great preacher and ecclesiastical pugilist, "is the gem of all, a little oval picture of Eliza Raeburn, his eldest grand-daughter, who died at six; there she is —lovely, her lucid blue eyes, her snowy bosom, her little mouth, just open enough to indicate the milk-white teeth, the sunny hair, the straightforward gaze, the sweetness. It is not possible to give in words the beauty of this; Correggio or Giorgione need not have been ashamed of it, and there is a depth of human expression I have never seen in them; she was her grandfather's darling, and she must be of every one who looks at her, though she has been fifty years in her grave."

Henry's eldest daughter married Sir William Andrew, and the portraits of Sir Henry, Lady Raeburn, and Henry on his pony were for a time in their possession. Lord Tweedmouth subsequently acquired the two former, and Lord Rosebery the latter. Eliza may still be in the possession of the family.

Pictorial Portraits of Highlanders

Concerning portraits of Highlanders, it must suffice to say of "The Macnab" that Sir Thomas Lawrence is reported by Morrison to have pronounced it the best representation of a human being he had ever seen. The Laird, dressed in Highland costume, the uniform of the Breadalbane Fencibles, of which he was Lieutenant-Colonel, stands at full-length in a Highland

landscape. He is not an attractive subject. He was, we are told, a "character," and the portrait shows more of the "character" than of either the officer or the Highland chief. It is, nevertheless, a powerfully conceived and painted picture, done with the masterly ease of Raeburn in the plenitude of his power.

At about the same date—1795-1800—comes the typical "Sir John Sinclair, Bart., of Ulbster" (see Plate), in the uniform of a militia officer, scarlet coat, tartan trews and plaid, sporran, holding his feather bonnet in his right hand depending by his side, a red and buff sash, and yellow lacings in the trews. The head, wreathed round with its fleece of wavy locks, is one of the finest Raeburn ever had for a model. The face is aristocratic, imperious, but expressive of bravery and inborn nobility. The painter's problem was obviously with a dress which, although picturesque in fact, is difficult in art, and Raeburn solved it by dint of consummate skill, admirable *technique,* good taste, and sheer audacity. Out of the discords of colour and the tartan pattern he has somehow contrived a harmony. And yet no selection attracts attention, and no departure from the realism of details makes itself felt.

The picture was at the Glasgow International Exhibition in 1901, and the Exhibition scarcely held an equal study, so deep and so informing, of fearless and clever brush-work. Beside it, other portraits, or the majority of them, were simplicity itself. As an executant, Raeburn probably never rose above the "Sinclair." How did he do it? In the first place, he accepted the facts.

They were there before him, and it was his business to make the most of them. He began by concentrating attention upon the head—his usual practice. To do this he first half-concealed the hands, the right partly hidden by the bonnet, the other doubled back, the knuckles resting upon the hip, so that little more is seen than the wrist. To emphasise the head, he set it against the dark clouded background of the upper sky, and so brought it into strong relief; the costume he treated in a diametrically opposite manner, softening the scarlet and Sinclair tartan by the cool grey of the lower sky, and slightly shadowing the lower part of the figure. But a yet finer and more subtle skill is found in the almost elusive grading or modulation of the brighter tints. In regard to them, suggestion almost insensibly takes the place of the crude statement of reality, and the device is justified by ocular facts. The eye that naturally seeks the noble head takes but comparatively cursory cognisance of the dress, for, after duly meeting all the claims of truth and fidelity to his model, Raeburn's object was the portrait of a man, and not that of a uniform. The "Sinclair" is probably unique in the painter's practice.

That does not mean it is his most artistic work. There is an impressive breadth in his "Lord Newton" (see Plate), and its modelling is so solid that it might have been chiselled out of stone—"full-blooded, full-brained," says Dr. John Brown, "taurine with potential vigour. His head is painted with a Rabelaisian richness; you cannot but believe when you look at the

vast countenance the tales of his feats in thinking and in drinking, and in general capacity of body and mind." The word "taurine" is most happily used. It is fitly descriptive of a man who, Mr. Caw reminds us, was popularly known as "The Mighty." Very deftly has Raeburn subordinated the grossness of his massive model to the idea of power.

The Painter's High-water Mark

In respect of all the finer, more evasive, qualities of art, a portrait which made for itself a centre, and became a standard of comparison, in the Edinburgh Loan Exhibition of 1901 is that of "James Wardrop of Torbanehill" (see Plate). In masterly achievement it stands at or near the summit of Raeburn's work. The shading is a miracle of delicacy, a triumph shared by eye and hand, and the modelling has a tenderness and reserved strength which the painter never excelled. The aged face rises from the dark background with a spirituality akin to that of sculptured marble, and a beauty that baffles description, a beauty of its own both human and artistic.

Akin to it in conception and polished treatment is the "John Wauchope" of the National Gallery of Scotland (see Plate). What special quality in his models moved the painter cannot be told, although it may be guessed at, but both the "Wardrop" and the "Wauchope" portraits bear evidence that his artistic consciousness was stirred to its depths. His brush seems to have hung upon the features with a lingering love, as if unwilling to lay the last touch upon the canvas, and so, in finished com-

pleteness, to leave the heads it had created and vitalised. In the Wauchope, the lighting is supremely well managed. The eyes, upper lip, and neck are in shadow thrown by brow, nose, and chin from an almost directly overhead light, giving decided form to the well-marked features, and softening the expression into all that can be imagined of gentleness, mildness, and suave urbanity.

Further selection might, by excess of detail, defeat its object—the elucidation of Raeburn's style and adaptability to changing models. There are the "Dr. Adam," "Francis Horner," "Jeffrey," "Cockburn," and "Mackenzie" portraits to stand for the gift of painting character and personal intellectual idiosyncrasies; the young "Raeburn" and "Sinclair" for dexterity and colour; the "Macnab" for veracity; the "Newton" for the triumph of artistry over matter; and the "Wardrop" and "Wauchope" for the exquisite expression of æsthetic feeling, the sense of the beautiful in nature, which makes the loudest but sweetest appeal to art. Raeburn painted "'Grecian' Williams," "'Christopher North,'" "G. J. Bell," "Archibald Alison" of the *Essay on Taste;* "Professor Blair," "John Thomson" the landscape-painter; Professors "Pillans," "Playfair," and "Reid"; "Chantrey," "Constable" and "Creech," publishers; "Charles James Fox," "Thomas Gladstone," grandfather of W. E. Gladstone; "Warren Hastings," and a host of other men of prominence. If they were all passed in review, no fuller knowledge of Raeburn could be got from the

A Summary of Practice

many than from the few. He had an eye for the picturesque and for all chaste forms of beauty; his taste was pure and wide in range; in interpreting character his intuition was genius; his eye was unerring and quick in seizing the graces of form, and in bringing assonances of tone out of discord; and his hand was skilful to draw, model, and to weave the intricate web of harmonious colour. All these qualities have been illustrated in the few portraits chosen from his works.

CHAPTER XIV.

PORTRAITS OF WOMEN.

Raeburn as painter of women—His two greatest portraits—Mrs. James Campbell — Raeburn's courtierlike deference to the sex — The emotional individuality of his women—The individual lost in the Ideal—A critic of the English school—The variety of nature preserved by Raeburn—The fresh bloom of youth—"A great man was Raeburn"—Mrs. Scott-Moncrieff—Style adapted to subject—Tributes to the beautiful.

LONG has the opinion been widely held that Raeburn was essentially a painter of men, and that his portraits of women are inferior. Cunningham, in all probability, first gave expression to this view, when he said that in the treatment of female loveliness Raeburn seldom excelled. He quotes a correspondent to the effect that "in representing beauty Raeburn always appeared to me to fail fearfully; his style of colouring, and his indefinite outline, caught neither the roses and lilies nor the contour of youth and loveliness." The sentence recalls Walpole's amusing decision upon the contrasted merits of Sir Joshua Reynolds and Allan Ramsay: "Mr. Reynolds seldom succeeds with women; Mr. Ramsay is formed to paint them."

Raeburn as Painter of the Sex

Raeburn's portraits of women include some of his



Mrs. Scott-Moncrieff (p. 173).

best. Never probably did he, in respect of *technique*, rise above his "Mrs. James Campbell," and as a representation of beauty in age he never surpassed his "Mrs. Campbell of Ballimore." If one were asked to name his two greatest portraits, there could be small risk of error in bracketing "Mrs. James Campbell" (see Plate) with "James Wardrop of Torbanehill."

The Climax of Technique

Mrs. Campbell would, to all appearance, be between sixty-five and seventy when the portrait was painted, and the style of the painting points to about 1810 as the date of the work, in which year she would have been about the age indicated. Her face is strong and decided of feature, but not winning in respect of either expression or form. Its attraction lies wholly in what it gave the painter, an irresistible opportunity for the most nearly perfect modelling of which he was capable, and for supremely delicate transitions. The light comes in from the upper right side, and the hollows of the eyes and the deep-worn wrinkles of the cheeks seem filled with tinted shadows. The contours are softened into the roundness of life, and the chiaroscuro is managed with a consummate skill unsurpassed, if rivalled, in Raeburn's practice. The masterly treatment gives the head a grandeur not its own. Its isolation from the dark ground by means of a high-crowned white cap (*Scotticè*, mutch), with broad ear-laps hanging down to meet the white neck-gear and wide collar, is a distinct stroke of genius. The shawl is a warm red, with mixed border of green, yellow,

and crimson. It is drawn round the shoulders and over the arms, and lends brightness to the simple scheme of colour. The hands are most cunningly disposed, so that nothing may carry the eye away from the splendid and massive old head. The brush-work is dexterous and fine, but there is not a hint of finical over-elaboration in the picture.

It seems, on the contrary, to have been painted with a flying brush, as if the artist, warmed by enthusiasm and absorbed in admiration of his theme, were in haste to realise his first impression before it passed or was dulled by a less poetic vision. Rapidity of execution secured both vigour and ease, and these qualities, taken in conjunction with the faultless propriety of the colour-scheme and the obvious fidelity of the portrait to life, constitute its charm. It is impossible to look at it without feeling something akin to the pulsing enthusiasm of the rapt painter, and without recognising the absolute rightness of his work. Like the "Wardrop," the "Mrs. James Campbell" had a place in the Edinburgh Loan Exhibition of 1901, and, if Raeburn had no other claim to the rank of a Master, his right might safely be rested upon these two works. They rooted themselves in memory, and time can neither efface nor dim them. They compelled acceptance as standards of comparison.

"Mrs. Campbell of Ballimore" (see Plate), as already said, is the type of female beauty in age. The carnations are singularly luminous. Neither has the rose faded from her cheek, nor the light from her eye. In

youth she must have been beautiful and winsome; years have only invested her with a new fascination. Reflection upon these things leads to the directly naturalistic aim of the painter. Art is linked with truth.

Female Beauty in Age

Here also, and in many other portraits—"Miss Janet Suttie," "Miss Margaret Suttie," "Mrs. Scott-Moncrieff," "Mrs. Cruikshank," "Mrs. Welwood," "Mrs. Stewart of Physgill," and others of a similar order—the man Raeburn makes himself felt within the painter. His bearing partakes of the chivalrous deference of an old-school gentleman. The difference is felt between the character of his men and the emotional individuality of his women.

Chivalrous Deference to Woman

In respect of the latter quality he stands apart from the leaders of the English school. Van Dyck led by sacrificing the individuality of his sitters' hands. Turning, like Allan Ramsay, his studio into a manufactory, he employed both men and women to serve as models for the hands. Reynolds, Gainsborough, and Romney went farther, and the grave indictment has been laid against them of allowing the ideal to swallow up the individuality of their sitters. There is a suspicious sameness of type running through the women of the school, to which the exceptions are rare. This feature led Collier to ask (*Nineteenth Century* for 1896) if none of their innumerable female sitters were broad-shouldered, if none of them had big, firm mouths and square jaws, if none of

The Ideal and the Individual

them were of the magnificent robust type of the Venus of Milo or the women of Titian. He argued that they cannot all have been slim and dainty:—

"Indeed, we may go much farther. Some of them must have been fat. Do we ever find a stout woman in the painting of the school? And some of them must have been short and squat, and some of them must have been downright ugly. But we never see them."

The monotony may be admitted without conceding the underlying assumption that unattractive women—the obese, squat, and ugly—ever sought the perpetuation of their unattractiveness in the studios of Reynolds and Gainsborough. The present point, however, is that Raeburn escaped the monotony. He secured variety by simply following nature, and yet could have wounded no self-pride. In "Hannah More" he had no fascinating model, neither grace of form nor beauty of feature, and yet how full of charm, with her dreamy eyes, her tossed chestnut curls, her dress and cap of white, is her portrait in the Louvre! Without idealising, Raeburn made the most of a homely sitter. He arranged his facts to the best advantage. In "Mrs. George Kinnear" he had the full type of the Venus of Milo, but of more voluptuous bulk, and yet by posing, by accentuating the shapely right arm and hand, he imparted to his massive model both grace and beauty. These two portraits differ from each other nearly as much as from those of the two Campbells.

Hannah More as a Type

In portraying the freshness of youth, the bloom of

female loveliness, Raeburn was very successful. The "Mrs. Scott-Moncrieff" (see Plate) is an outstanding illustration both of his splendid artistry and of his appreciation of the points of his model, and it is only one of a group. Here it is necessary to generalise. When the Raeburn Exhibition was open in 1876, George Paul Chalmers, R.S.A.—than whom Scotland has produced no finer and more subtle colourist, and none with an eye more sensitive to the harmonies of colour—wrote a West-country friend: "You *must* come to see the Raeburns. They are fine and will interest you much. A great man was Raeburn." Prior to that, Chalmers had been captivated by the "Scott-Moncrieff," as he must have been by the two "Suttie" portraits. A like perfectness of round modelling can only be found in the masterpieces of art. The carnations are translucent and luscious, warm and deep. The "Scott-Moncrieff" is lapped in a sweet artistic perfume, rare and refreshing. Sparing glimpses of the red robe go, with the delicious flesh-painting, the dark-brown hair lightly tossed above the brow, and the white dress, to make a colour-scheme most simple and refined. Can we wonder that Chalmers loved the picture and copied it, as he did, with a loving brush?

The Bloom of Female Loveliness

"A Great Man was Raeburn"

In all his female portraits Raeburn worked out an intellectual in addition to the artistic problem. He adapted style to subject, a gracious manner to feminine grace. What has been said of the "Scott-Moncrieff"

can be adapted to other portraits. The pellucid quality of the carnations and the pearly radiance of the dress do not merely pertain to the artistic presentment of a handsome woman. They tell both of an artist's admiration of colour and—as previously noted—a man's deferential obeisance to female comeliness. Art, intellect, feeling, quick perception, refined taste, all work together in the creation of portraits as remarkable in *technique* as resplendent in beauty. To his gifts as artist Raeburn united a poetic sympathy which makes his portraits of women alike demonstrations of skill and tributes to the beautiful of which they are the revelation.

A Type of Beauty

CHAPTER XV.

LONDON CONTEMPLATED.

Edinburgh or London—Goes to London and sees Wilkie—Meeting with Royal Academicians—Wilkie's relations to the Academy—The portrait-painters of the Academy—Envious of Wilkie—Raeburn's mistake—Condition of the Academy—Room for Raeburn—Northcote, Hoppner, and Lawrence—Critics of Lawrence—Lawrence an interested adviser—Counsels Raeburn to return to Scotland—He goes home.

RAEBURN could hardly have been seriously dissatisfied with his position and practice in Edinburgh. The immediate cause of his entertaining a wish to leave it for London can only be surmised. None of his biographers has looked far into the subject. In connection with it, nevertheless, an interesting insight is obtained into the condition of the metropolitan art-world, in the first decade of the nineteenth century, and particularly of the Royal Academy.

In the year 1810, when doing the best work of his artistic prime, Raeburn contemplated either settling in London or having an alternative residence there. On the 2nd of March of that year, Sir David Wilkie states in his Journal that he had heard Raeburn was going to London, and that Hoppner's house was to be taken for

him. The next entry seems to point to permanent residence. On the 12th of May, he says:—

Raeburn goes to London and sees Wilkie

"Had a call from Raeburn (the painter), who told me he had come to London to look out for a house, and to see if there was any prospect of establishing himself. I took him, by his own desire, to see Sir William Beechey." . . .

"13th. Called on Raeburn, and called with him on several artists, who happened to be from home, or engaged."

On the 19th of the month another entry occurs, referring to Raeburn.

There is abundant evidence that Wilkie was willing to further Raeburn's views, and on the 4th of June his attentions reached their practical culmination—"Went with Raeburn to the 'Crown and Anchor' to meet the gentlemen of the Royal Academy. I introduced him to Flaxman; after dinner he was asked by Beechey to sit near the President [West], where his health was proposed by Flaxman; great attention was paid to him."

Wilkie undoubtedly did his best by Raeburn, but only upon the line of the latter's selection. There is no evidence that the prudent Fifer volunteered any independent counsel. He did not point the absolutely best course for Raeburn to follow. With a little more outspoken frankness, Wilkie could have tendered his visitor such practical advice as would have at once brought his London mission to a decisive issue. Raeburn would almost certainly have left Edinburgh for



Miss Janet Suttie (p. 184).

the wider field of London. The fact appears to be that Wilkie could not see past the Royal Academy, of which he had, for a few months, been an Associate. His professional path at the time was exceptionally thorny, and his life troubled. He was, furthermore, constitutionally disposed to peace, had none of the fighting instincts of his friend Haydon, and, as Raeburn unfolded his plan, he must have seen that a danger of compromising himself lurked in urging its abandonment for a better. His guidance was carefully measured by reference to a threefold consideration—for his fellow-members of the Academy, for himself, and for Raeburn. He temporised and Raeburn's opportunity passed.

Wilkie a Timid Adviser

The year (1810) in which Raeburn went to London upon his momentous errand, the result of which was to decide both his whole future life and the measure of his fame, happened to be that of Wilkie's bitter experience of Academy intrigue in connection with the competition of Edward Bird, of Bristol,—a shadowy rivalry trumped up in the Academy. The year was also that in which the Academy most openly vented its spleen upon the hapless Haydon. Wilkie had sent to the Exhibition a comparative trifle, "The Wardrobe Ransacked" or "The Man with the Girl's Cap," and was advised by President West, Shee, and other members of the Council, to withdraw it as unworthy of himself, and likely to give rise to damaging comparisons with Bird. He did so, and a report was circulated that

Wilkie in Trouble in 1810

his action was equivalent to an acknowledgment of Bird's superiority. Cunningham charges the Academy with jealousy, some of its members envying Wilkie's sudden fame, others being mortified by the attention bestowed upon his "pan-and-spoon style" in comparison with their own essays in the high historic line. Wilkie, at all events, was filled with fresh doubts of the Academy. He was mortified by the imputation of defeat in an uncontested competition with a painter whom Seguier, Sir George Beaumont, and Haydon united in placing below him.

The Fiery and Combative Haydon

The portrait-painters, some of whom combined historical painting with portraiture, were in the ascendant in the Academy, and all the evidence goes to show that they were envious of Wilkie the painter of *genre*, and determined to crush Haydon, the painter of history. The latter kept the placid, peace-loving Scotsman, whom he loved and admired, in a continual fever. That same eventful spring Haydon was competing, against Wilkie's advice, for a hundred-guinea prize with Howard, the chosen champion of the Academy, and all London knew that defeat was in store for the latter, although Haydon's victory was not announced until the 17th of May.

In the midst of personal chagrin, and worried by the combative and reckless Haydon, Wilkie was called upon to receive Raeburn, and, in considering his absorbing project, to repress himself. He took Raeburn amongst the Academicians, although he must have felt

that for them to act otherwise than with courteous insincerity towards a potentially dangerous rival from the North was beyond reasonable hope. This view of the situation prompts a thought, almost a conviction, that if, instead of indicating the course he preferred, Raeburn had made a beginning by simply asking Wilkie how to proceed relatively to an intended settlement in London, he would have been cannily told to settle in London, and to leave the Academy and its members alone. The words quoted from his Journal, "by his own desire," are significant. They imply Raeburn's belief that the right thing for him to do was to make advances towards establishing friendly relations with the artists of London, and, although in doubt arising from the experiences of the past few weeks and from the feelings of the hour, Wilkie tacitly concurred.

Probable Attitude of R.A.'s towards Raeburn

There is abundant proof that in the early part of the nineteenth century the Royal Academy was corrupted by jealousy, honeycombed with intrigue, and habitually guilty of selfish favouritism. Manifestly, any conceivable course would have been better than the one Raeburn marked out for himself. Why should the portrait-painters of the Royal Academy encourage a competitor to settle amongst them, with the rare qualities of whose work they had long been familiar? He had exhibited with them at frequent intervals since 1792—eighteen years without any practical recognition

The Royal Academy about 1800-10

from them of his genius and masterly *technique*. They had reason to fear lest in London he might force a way to the front, compel Academic honours, cut into their custom, and so divert to himself a goodly share of praise and pelf which otherwise would be theirs.

Else there was abundant room for Raeburn. The year of his first appearance at Somerset House was that of Sir Joshua's death, and after Reynolds there was none to be compared with Raeburn. Northcote's portraits are comparatively coarse, and often commonplace. Hoppner died on the 23rd of January of this same year, 1810—hence Wilkie's mention of his house being taken for Raeburn,—and when he went, Sir Thomas Lawrence wrote: "The death of Hoppner leaves me without a rival."

An Estimate of Sir Thomas Lawrence

And what of Lawrence himself? He is artificial, drew from the stage more than from nature. His characters, in one critic's view, have more of the affectation of fashion than of the truth of a large humanity. The Redgraves find less variety in his compositions than in those of his predecessors, and less art in his arrangements, but allow him a dexterity of execution which was all his own. Wilkie charges him with taking liberties with his subjects, with changing and refining the features before him. Opie said that Lawrence made coxcombs of his sitters, and his sitters made a coxcomb of Lawrence. Haydon accused him of flattering the vanities of the age, pampering its weakness and gratifying its meretricious tastes. His men

were touched with fashion and dandyism; his women were beautiful but not natural. The Redgraves conclude: "While we are obliged to allow that Lawrence ranks below his immediate predecessors of the English school, it was hardly possible, at his death, to point to a successor likely to stand beside him in the opinion of posterity."

Room for Raeburn in London

London, in fine, offered Raeburn a field without a possible rival, had he chosen to enter in and possess it. He had all Lawrence's virtues in a fuller measure, and he had none of his faults, opposing strong vitality and naturalism to Sir Thomas's vicious artificiality. And yet, in fate's irony, it was apparently Lawrence who succeeded in advising him to turn his face homewards. How he was so persuaded is not known. That Lawrence was not a disinterested adviser is suggested by Cunningham, Henley, and others. Cunningham was told that Raeburn dropped words by his own fireside which could only be construed as meaning that, in his view, "the President of the Royal Academy had been no loser by his absence from the field of competition." As Lawrence only took the Presidency in 1820, Raeburn must have been well up in years, and nearing his end, before he used these words of constructive disparagement. Henley is more bluntly cynical. By Raeburn's acceptance of his counsel, Lawrence "secured himself in his position as the painter of fashionable and distinguished England. He

Lawrence's Advice to Raeburn

was wise in his generation, no doubt, but it is matter for lasting regret that he prevailed; for it is beyond question that Raeburn would soon have filled the larger stage, and it is reasonable to assume that his example might have passed into a tradition, so that his sane and vigorous genius would thus have been felt as a force in English portraiture even to this day."

In London, Raeburn would have risen to higher fame, perhaps have achieved a fuller artistic power, and certainly, as Henley suggests, have exercised a wider authority; but, on the other hand, he might have suffered from Academic infection. Where Wilkie, the moral son of the manse, was smitten, Raeburn might not have escaped. Honourable, high-minded, and pure, the Scottish master could ill have endured the wrangling, the cliques, and self-seeking littlenesses of the Royal Academy. In such an atmosphere he could not have been so happy as in the healthy air of Edinburgh. His long reign in the art-world of Scotland might have further unfitted him for serving and waiting in London. He accordingly returned home, and at no other time is he known to have thought of leaving the Scottish capital. His London experience derives its chief importance from "what might have been"—wider fame for himself, and a broader influence as a sound and healthy exemplar, and an eloquently didactic precedent. When the Academy ultimately elected him an Associate, and then an Academician, its members were probably satisfied that he meant to remain in Edinburgh.

CHAPTER XVI.

HONOURS AND DEATH.

Dying in harness—Works of the closing years of life—Praises of Miss Janet Suttie's portrait—A comparison with Sir Thomas Lawrence—No "fag-end" to the portraits of Raeburn—Elected Royal Academician—Diploma work—Italian and American honours—Admitted F.R.S. of Edinburgh—George IV. visits Scotland—Raeburn knighted—A "most royal jollification" at St. Bernard's—An old-fashioned hostess—A Royal commission—His Majesty's Limner for Scotland—Symptoms of decay—An excursion to Fifeshire—What was his last work?—Death and burial—Lady Raeburn and the family.

HAD the issue of Raeburn's London excursion been different, his gallery of Scots notables had lacked many of its most prominent figures, and some of those the finest in art-quality. He painted without intermission to the end, almost, like Sir William Allan, dying with a brush in his hand. "Lord Newton" belongs to about this period (1810-15), as also does the "Lord Craig" in Parliament House, Edinburgh. After them—about 1818—came "Sir William Gibson-Craig, Bart."; "John Hay," Master of Trinity House, Leith; the fine and warm-toned "Professor David Hume," also in the Parliament House; the "Kennedys of Dunure," one or two of the "Mackenzies of Portmore," "Lord

Some of Raeburn's Later Sitters

Meadowbank," "Admiral Milne," "Thomas Telford," the great engineer; his best Scott, his own portrait; and, amongst ladies, the never-to-be-forgotten Misses Suttie. The "Miss Janet Suttie" (see Plate) was done in 1820, and as the tale of the years allowed to Raeburn was nearing completion, the temptation comes to quote what Sir Walter Armstrong says of it, as showing that Raeburn suffered none of the death-in-life of slow decay, but died while his genius was at its brightest:—

"The way in which he has done justice to the opulent charms of the young lady is an answer to those who say he could not paint a pretty woman. He has not only reproduced her beauty; he has kept the fire in her eye, the dew on her lip, the glow in her blood, and the kind thought for himself which moved her as she sat. There is more life and human feeling in this head than in any Lawrence I ever saw."

No Decay of Raeburn's Genius

Within the opinion is a fact, and it is upon the latter that emphasis is here laid—namely, that there is no "fag-end" to the productions of Raeburn's brush, and that his latest portraits include some of his subtlest and most powerful. Taken along with his originality, his independence of convention, and the circumstance that not one of his foremost works was sent for exhibition out of Scotland, the matters noted may explain the late arrival of the honours of his life. At the last they sought him; he did not seek them. Cunningham hints at his feeling uneasy by reason of the seeming neglect of the Academies, both at home and

abroad, but Raeburn himself makes no sign of eagerly desiring their recognition. In one of his few letters he touches upon the subject. It was written to a friend in London in 1814, when he had four portraits in the Academy Exhibition, those of "Lord Seaforth" and "Sir David Baird" and two unnamed. He says:—

A Letter about Academic Rank

"I observe what you say respecting the election of an R.A., but what am I to do here? They know I am on their list; if they choose to elect me without solicitation, it will be the more honourable to me, and I will think the more of it; but if it can only be obtained by means of solicitation and canvassing, I must give up all hopes of it, for I would think it unfair to employ those means. I am, besides, out of the way, and have no opportunity. I rejoice in the worthy President's increasing reputation; it is pleasing and consolatory to see that additional powers come with the increase of years. Write and tell me what artists are about, and whether anything be indispensable for a person who desires to become a member of the Royal Academy. Were you sufficiently in health to see Somerset House during last exhibition? I had some things there; but no artist of my acquaintance has been kind enough to write me one syllable on the subject, to say either what he thought of them himself, or what others thought."

Wilkie is said to have interested himself in securing Raeburn's election, and his pictures of the year may have had weight with the Academy. Raeburn was, in any event, elected an Associate in 1814, and an

Academician in 1815. He waited until 1821 before sending "A Boy and Rabbit" (see Plate) as his diploma work. Thereafter, he was admitted member of the Imperial Academy of Florence; on 1st June 1817, an honorary member of the New York Academy of the Fine Arts; and in November 1821, a similar honour was conferred upon him by the Academy of Arts of South Carolina. He was also admitted a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.

Admission to the Royal Academy

The next year is marked with a red letter in the annals of Edinburgh. In the autumn of 1822 George IV. paid his long-remembered visit to Scotland. Raeburn was rather surprised to receive intimation that the King intended to knight him, "as a mark of his approbation of your distinguished merit as a painter." On the following day he went to Hopetoun House, and had there conferred upon him the rank of Knighthood, the King making use of the sword of Sir Alexander Hope. The handsome and courtierlike Raeburn made such an impression upon his Majesty that he is said to have wished to make the knighthood a baronetcy, and to have been deterred solely by consideration for the memory of Sir Joshua Reynolds, who only secured the lesser honour. On the 15th of September 1822, Wilkie sent his sister an account of the ceremony, and of the festive gathering which followed at St. Bernard's, so perfect an illus-

King George IV. in Scotland

Raeburn receives the Accolade



"Boy with Rabbit" (p. 18)

tration of the manners of the time as to warrant quotation:—

Wilkie describes a Festive Gathering at St. Bernard's

"You would hear that one of the exercises of the Royal prerogative in Scotland was to confer the honour of knighthood upon Mr. Raeburn and Captain Adam Ferguson. This happened on the day the King left Scotland, and when he was at Hopetoun House. Collins and I, with a variety of others, were invited to dine with Sir Henry Raeburn the day afterwards. Ferguson was there, and we had a most royal jollification. Sir Adam blushed even more than usual upon the occasion of his honours; and the ceremony was told us over and over, with new jokes every time. When dinner was over we drank to the new-made knights. Sir Henry made a very modest reply, in which he attributed his honours to the kindness and favour of his friends, who were present. Sir Adam said he could not make so good a speech as his fellow-knight had done, and that he would, if agreeable, sing us a song, a proposal we received with acclamation, when he sang us 'The Laird of Cockpen,' and afterwards, at our request, 'The Turnemspike.' Lady Raeburn would not allow herself to be called *My Lady* on any account, but was exceedingly hospitable to her guests, and pressed them to eat in the good old-fashioned Scottish style."

The King had expressed a wish that Sir Henry should paint a portrait of him, and invited him to London for that purpose, but Raeburn was never able to

comply. The distinction accorded him was grateful to public opinion, and by his fellow-artists was looked upon as a tribute to their common profession. In May 1823, the King appointed Raeburn his "limner and painter in Scotland, with all fees, profits, salaries, rights, privileges, and advantages thereto belonging."

The Weight of Years

Raeburn was then in his sixty-eighth year, but he had lived carefully and temperately, and was a young man for his years, to all appearances blessed with a good constitution, and possessing abounding health and vigour. Morrison, however, says that some time previous to his last illness he had shown symptoms of falling-off. Raeburn had said to him:—

"I sometimes lose sight of the picture on the easel before me, and stand still in a kind of dream, while the picture changes its aspect, and sometimes looks as if composed of many figures."

In the summer of 1823, an excursion was arranged in which Miss Edgeworth, Sir Walter Scott, Sir Samuel Shepherd, Sir Adam Ferguson, Sir Henry, and a number of others took part, under the leadership of Lord Chief-Commissioner Adam. They were to visit the Castle of Ravensheugh, and examine other remains and places of historical interest in Fifeshire. All were in high spirits and enthusiastic, none more so than Raeburn, who is said to have "contributed largely to the enjoyment of the party." They went to Pittenweem, explored the ruins of St. Andrews, and had altogether a pleasant ramble. Morrison says:—

Nearing the End

"During their excursion the weather was hot; and Sir Henry, not accustomed to long walking, and exposed, although in summer, to the keen air of Fife, had taken cold; and particularly as, Sir Walter observed, he walked with his hat in his hand, Miss Edgeworth having hold of the other arm. On the day after his return, he walked to his gallery in York Place, and began to touch the portrait of a Mrs. Dennistoun, but was unable to proceed. He walked home and, with considerable headache, went to bed, whence he never arose."

Another account is that Sir Walter Scott sat to him for the two half-length portraits mentioned in Chapter XII., and that these were the last pictures he touched. He does not appear to have had any specific ailment. Living as he did, vitality seems to have been suddenly exhausted, and his constitution to have at once broken down. Like a high-mettled racer he ran his course till the life-cord snapped, then dropped and died. He was ill about a week, during which Morrison saw him for the last time:—

"Hearing of his illness, I called down late in the evening to inquire for him. The servants told me that every hope of his recovery was over, that he was lying motionless on his bed, and that the family had retired. I mentioned to the servant in waiting (who used to arrange his palette) that I wished much to have a last look, to which he readily agreed. This was about twenty-four hours before his death. He was lying with his eyes

Illness and Death

shut, but not asleep. I touched softly the hand which was lying across his breast,—the hand which had been so often stretched out to welcome me."

Sir Henry died on the 8th of July 1823, and conventional expressions of regret were made by Lawrence and Wilkie for the Royal Academy, and at a meeting of the Edinburgh Institution for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts in Scotland. He was buried in the enclosure at the east end of St. John's Church (Scottish Episcopal) at the west end of Princes Street, Edinburgh. His grave remained unmarked until a few years ago, when an anonymous admirer had a tablet let into the wall to indicate the spot where the painter was laid. Another anonymous connoisseur had a life-size statue of him by Pittendrigh Macgillivray, R.S.A., placed in one of the niches in the Scottish Portrait Gallery in Queen Street. Standing in the north-east corner turret of the building, Raeburn, by a happy thought of the sculptor, appears to be looking down York Place towards his old studio. His son Peter, previously mentioned as having died in youth, was buried in St. Cuthbert's Churchyard, not far from his father's grave in St. John's.

Lady Raeburn survived Sir Henry for ten years, and was thus rapidly nearing ninety when she died. Their family consisted of two sons, Peter above-mentioned, and Henry who succeeded to Deanhaugh and St. Bernard's. Acquiring the estate of Howden with his wife, Henry bought the property of Charlesfield, "a snug, old

The Raeburn Family

Survivors

Scotch house near Mid Calder, on a burn of its own, which paraffin has defiled with its stench and prismatic films"—as says the realistic Dr. John Brown. Henry had three sons, who all died childless, and five daughters. The eldest was the Eliza of Dr. Brown's charming sketch (page 162), and the second has been mentioned as having married Sir William Andrew. Mr. William Raeburn Andrew, one of the sons of the latter, compiled a Life of his illustrious ancestor.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE ART OF RAEBURN.

Raeburn out of his time and latitude—Comparison with men of the Italian Renaissance—Raeburn in Rome—The variety of Raeburn—Definiteness of detail—Landscape backgrounds—A portrait tells of sitter's life—His teachers and originality—The Velasquez parallel—Raeburn and English artists—Test by comparison—Where Raeburn got the "square touch"—His middle period—His latest style—Treatment of details—Hands as details—The poetry of the sunbeam—Raeburn as colourist—His flesh-painting—Idealism and completeness of impression—Raeburn's highest—History-painting and portraiture—Raeburn a forerunner.

A Comparison with Artists of Italian Renaissance

FREQUENTLY in surveying the career of Raeburn, and analysing his many-sided genius and his taste and constitution in the light of his diverse pursuits, the fancy presents itself that he was not a Scot of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but an Italian of Renaissance days born out of his time and proper latitude. He recalls Orcagna working at goldsmithing and mastering its technical details under his father, painting with his brother Bernardo, writing poetry—as Giotto did, but not Raeburn—and reaching his highest in architecture and sculpture. In enamels, intaglios, bas-reliefs and statuettes, mosaics, gilded glass and incrustations of

agates, he is said to have made the tabernacle of Orsammichele an epitome of the minor arts of mediæval Italy. Or Raeburn brings up Brunelleschi, builder of the Duomo of Florence, goldsmith, sculptor, engineer, an artist who added the more mechanical faculty of a master-builder to the art of an architect; or it may be Ghiberti, goldsmith, painter, modeller of portraits, imitator of antique gems, and sculptor of the Baptistery gates at Florence.

Goldsmiths and Artists

The goldsmith's craft was in Italy considered the best training in design, and Botticelli is another who learned it before he turned to painting. Besides the knowledge and practice of design the industry involved delicate workmanship, and accurate modelling. Such education was widely considered practically indispensable to the successful following of an artistic career. The goldsmith's shop was regarded as the gate to the higher arts. Besides those named, Symonds mentions Luca della Robbia, Ghirlandajo, and others as undergoing this education in finished nicety of handiwork before applying themselves to painting, sculpture, and architecture.

The Gate to the Higher Arts

Raeburn and Sculpture

It is said that when at Rome Raeburn gave so much attention to sculpture that, inspired by Michael Angelo, he seriously thought of giving up painting in favour of the sister art. The only existing relic of his practice of plastic art is a medallion portrait of himself bearing, in

incised lettering, the name "H. Raeburn, 1792." The material is that used by Tassie, to whom reference has been made as a modeller of paste portrait-medallions, but the style is not Tassie's, and the work is not marked either by his customary details or by his signature. After examining it closely, J. M. Gray ascribed it to Raeburn himself, who, he says, "was in the habit of occasionally practising modelling."

Range of Raeburn's Art

These several matters help the accurate measurement of the range of Raeburn's artistic gifts. His work at Gilliland's, his miniatures, portraits, his leanings towards sculpture, his modelling in relief, his experiments in architecture and master-building, his practice of the art-industry of model shipbuilding, his devotion to beauty —of nature, flowers, children, women, as attested by the sensitive appreciation of their beauty visible in his portraits—after making due allowance for the disparity between the goldsmith's work done in Italy and that of Edinburgh, go to establish Raeburn's affinity with the men of the Italian Renaissance. The resemblance is no less marked if regard be had to the many outlets he sought for physical activity — angling, golfing, archery, long pedestrian rambles, and the like. The Renaissance is characterised by abounding vitality, an unresting energy which ignored control. It overflowed into the arts, and ran riot in the most degrading passions and the foulest crimes. A similarly fecund vigour, but chastened and purified, animated Raeburn, and was at the root of his amazing versatility.

Landscape Backgrounds

Results of Discipline in Art

The results of his many-sided discipline and pursuits appear in his art. At Gilliland's he acquired the principles of design and precision of treatment, and what he learned reappears in his "Ronald and Robert Ferguson," "Dr. Spens," "Sinclair," "Macnab," and other portraits. He imparted a certain definiteness to detail, but never descended to petty minutiæ and tightness of handling. The merest suggestion has an effect, but it never so calls for attention as to destroy the balance and symmetry of the design, or to detract from the prominence of the centre of interest. This is felt alike in the border of Mrs. James Campbell's robe or shawl, and in the landscape behind the Macnab. His rambles made Raeburn familiar with nature, but his studies and sketches he could not utilise to the full. In portraiture his naturalism was concentrated in his personal subject, and, when employed, landscape backgrounds were appropriately subordinated to his subject-proper.

Landscape in Portraiture

Raeburn's rule is laid down in the course of his conversation with Sir Walter Scott (see p. 138), and he invariably acted upon it. The "systematic background," which his friendly London adviser cautioned him against, did not in truth suit his style. Extreme examples of it are found in Reynolds's "Admiral Keppel" and "Nelly O'Brien." If Raeburn ever saw the former, the inference from what he said to Scott is that he avoided taking it as a precedent.

He was perfectly willing to abide by usage so far as to make a portrait tell something of the life and tastes of his sitter, as in the portraits of "Dr. Spens," "Admiral Duncan," "The Macnab," "Sinclair," and the "Lord Eldin" with the Crouching Venus; but he was careful not to carry the practice too far. Hence the infinite superiority of the half-length Scotts to the full-lengths with scenic backgrounds. It is difficult to contemplate without a shudder the effect of such upon the dignity and intellectual nobility of the later Scotts, the powerful repose of the Lords "Bannatyne" and "Newton," the "Wardrop," the "Wauchope," and the "Smith of Jordanhill." They could only have shattered the loveliness of "Miss Suttie" and "Mrs. Scott-Moncrieff," and broken the spell art has woven out of personal beauty. And how utterly destructive such background had been of the autumnal charm of the aging "Mrs. James Campbell"!

Reflections of Life in a Portrait

In this matter of backgrounds Raeburn was led by his native common-sense and feeling of propriety. Latterly, he became increasingly disposed to abandon the prevailing English fashion followed by Reynolds and Gainsborough. The naturalness, intrinsic dignity, and massive simplicity of his greater portraits did not accord with pretty landscape effects and fragmentary schemes of colour. They also led to dubious experiments in illumination, a front light sometimes bringing out the face and expression of a sitter, while a

Raeburn's Debt to English School

light in the background of sky is introduced to throw the figure into relief. Much has been made of Raeburn's indebtedness to the English school. It is possible that he showed his wisdom rather in what he rejected than in what he adopted.

His Teachers and Originality

The subject of his originality is thus reached, and it is inevitable that a true estimate of it is more likely to be arrived at by reference to ascertained facts and to his education, than by more or less fanciful comparisons of him with Velasquez, Reynolds, and others, whose works he is not known to have seen before his style was formed. We have no knowledge of the manner by which he acquired the rudiments of his craft, and opinions are contradictory. R. A. M. Stevenson considers it "without doubt" that Raeburn was taught drawing, perspective, and the common use of oil paint, and that from his early masters he had learned his craft and the use of his tools. The writer of the sketch in the *Dictionary of National Biography* alleges, on the contrary, that he had to find out everything for himself: "how to prepare his colours, set his palette, and generally to manage his tools." Both cannot be right; but how can credibility be apportioned?

Wilkie would appear to have started the Velasquez analogy, and it is possible that he may have been misunderstood. When in Spain in 1827, he wrote to Sir Thomas Lawrence:—

"To our English tastes it is unnecessary to advocate the style of Velasquez. I know not if the remark be

new, but we appear as if identified with him; and while I am in the two galleries at the Museum, half-filled with his works, I can almost fancy myself among English pictures. Sir Joshua, Romney, and Raeburn, whether from imitation or instinct, seem powerfully imbued with his style, and some of our own time, even to our landscape-painters, seem to possess the same affinity."

In his Journal, while at Madrid, Wilkie says:—"Velasquez may be said to be the origin of what is now doing in England. His feeling they have caught almost without seeing his works, which here seem to anticipate Reynolds, Romney, Raeburn, Jackson, and even Sir Thomas Lawrence. Perhaps there is this difference: he does at once what we do by repeated and repeated touches."

Again, on the 14th of February 1828, Wilkie wrote Thomas Phillips, R.A., from Madrid:—"There is much resemblance between Velasquez and the works of some of the chiefs of the English school; but, of all, Raeburn resembles him most, of whose square touch in heads, hands, and accessories I see the very counterpart in the Spaniard."

Velasquez and Raeburn

Two months later he wrote to Alexander Nasmyth, from Seville, that, since Reynolds, the principles of Velasquez had guided the British school. He continues:—

"I have also remarked that our departed friend Raeburn is strongly possessed with this spirit, which, considering how rare the works of Velasquez are, looks

like inspiration. There are some heads of his in Madrid which, were they in Edinburgh, would be thought to be by Raeburn; and I have seen a portrait, of Lord Glenlee I think, by Raeburn, which would in Madrid be thought a near approach to Velasquez."

Raeburn and the English Painters

No less remarkable than making Velasquez the prototype of British portrait-painting is Wilkie's indiscriminate grouping of Reynolds, Romney, Raeburn, Jackson, and Lawrence. It would be necessary to know the point or points at which these painters are assumed to touch, before their relationship can be understood and admitted. So with Velasquez, Wilkie speaks of his spirit possessing Raeburn, of his principles guiding the British school, of affinity and style, but neither Wilkie nor any one who followed him has analysed the resemblance. It is a simple matter to assert that Raeburn took hints from Lawrence and Hoppner; it is vastly more difficult to substantiate the debt. It is equally easy to point to Velasquez as the forerunner of the British school; it is a hard matter to specify the elements in Raeburn's "Newton" which bring it into affinity with Velasquez' "Philip IV.," or those in "Miss Janet Suttie" which justify a comparison with the mysteriously inspired "Infanta" of the Louvre. To Sir Walter Armstrong it seems "undeniable" that the "Innocent X." of Velasquez counted for much in Raeburn's development, but there is no answer to the question: How does it so count?

Place a Velasquez beside a Raeburn on a wall—do

it even in imagination—then frame them round with portraits by Reynolds and the others, and they will all be found in their several degrees to suggest resemblance and vitality. Take them singly, and Lawrence, or Hoppner, or Romney, would not be seen beside Velasquez. In respect of *technique*, Reynolds and Raeburn can neither be compared with Velasquez nor with each other. The world has never been granted a second Velasquez. Artists of admitted power have copied him, and their works recall him at a distance or in memory. Placed side by side, there is in the Velasquez a living, breathing human being; in the copy is the shadow which the subject might throw upon the floor. Velasquez is inscrutable. None of the British school has penetrated the secret of his modelling, the intricately-woven mystery of his flesh-painting.

The "Coa Vestis" and Scots Tweed

Raeburn painted with individual distinction. In breadth, fidelity to his model, and in effect he may at times recall Velasquez, but to compare his brush-work with that of Velasquez is to court disappointment, and to work him injustice. The *coa vestis* must have been admirable, and so is Scots tweed. It is possible to admire both, but not by reason of their similarity in texture. Artistic parallels may be useful for description, but it is unwise to push them too far.

The only satisfactory way, in short, of treating Raeburn is not by comparison but by the direct method according to which he treated his sitters. No result of any value can come of modifying the assertion of his

originality by pointing out resemblances which suggest borrowings, imitation, and ultimately rank plagiarism. It is impossible to say with confidence of any work of his that this feature is due to genius, and that to education and example. Added knowledge helped the statement of his originality: it did not obscure it. In none of the Scottish Exhibitions since that of 1884, or in the Grafton Gallery collection of 1895, did Raeburn appear as one masquerading either in the costume of Spain or in the studiously acquired and mannered fashionables of Reynolds and Lawrence. His art seemed more of an outgrowth than an acquisition. As for Reynolds, is there a picture by him in existence which could have prompted the "square touch" of the Scottish master as seen in the "Newton" and "Robison" portraits?

Direct Criticism of Raeburn

Raeburn's Square Touch

The phase of his *technique* indicated in the question made itself most plainly felt in his mid-career. He may have got the perfected idea of it either from his own experimental essays in the plastic art or from what he saw in the studios of the sculptors of Rome. It may, at any rate, be safely asserted that there is nothing in it traceable either to Velasquez or Reynolds. He had very probably seen the process of modelling in all its stages, and been struck by the rugged vigour of a head midway between its first roughness, and the smooth roundness it assumes before being cut in stone. If while in the rough it were chiselled in a harder

Its Counterpart in Modelling

medium, the result would have all the force of the clay, but none of the quality which makes the finished marble a spiritualised presentment of life. It holds little more than the promise of literal resemblance. Translate it into paint, and it will be so softened by the gradations of colour and by the play of light upon the facets or squares of paint, that some idea may be obtained of the method of Raeburn when the "square touch" is most distinctly present in the modelling of his heads.

Raeburn's Line of Evolution

He developed along the line springing from the early "Chalmers of Pittencrieff," passing through the "Newton," "Robison," and "Bannatyne," and reaching his polished maturity in the "Wauchope" and "Wardrop" and female portraits. In the middle period of his evolution, Raeburn built his heads in squares. There is no Rembrandtesque subtlety in his brush-work, almost no mystery in his *technique*, as there is in that of Velasquez. He did not aim at fineness of complex texture. Every touch of the brush leaves a rectangular impress upon the unprepared canvas, and, looked at closely, the result is akin to inlaying after the manner of Henri Deux ware, cellular enamel (cloisonné), or mosaic. The edges are almost as well defined as those of the cells of metal ribbon in the enamel. Distance was necessary to the fusion of the brush-marks, and when Raeburn looked at his work, in the manner previously described, from the far end of his painting-room, the sharpness of the

Texture and Touch

edges disappeared, and the planes or brush-marks seemed to run together into a vigorously-modelled face. The subsequent change in his method was towards a more evenly graded roundness. The square touch disappears in the softer curves of reality. He may have been led to his later manner by his practice in the portraiture of women, whose finer features and more delicate colour could not be rendered so successfully by square-painting as those of the more pronounced masculine type. That, in any event, is the point at which he arrived, and, whether the Earl of Home's "Scott" was the last work he touched or not, it marks the outermost limit of Raeburn's evolution in respect of *technique* and style.

His Latest Style

In his deferential attitude towards nature Raeburn settled the respective dues of realism or naturalism and impressionism in portraiture. A literal realist, to whom art means imitation and nothing more—the transference, that is, to canvas of the exact likeness of the subject before him in substance and detail—has no room for either ideality or imagination. He knows that certain details exist, and his instinct is to copy them. They may pertain to dress, furniture, or scenery, and as they form the setting of his subject, they fall to be reproduced with it in the form and colour of reality. He makes the mistake of painting according to knowledge instead of sight. An artist in portraiture fixes his eye upon his subject. Of the existence of

Realism and Impressionism

Subject and Setting

setting and details he is aware, but, his eye being fastened elsewhere, he has only a vague consciousness of their presence. They are in natural reality subordinate to the figure that fills his eye, and the fact decides their treatment. They reappear upon his canvas as subsidiary to his subject proper, and not as co-ordinate with it.

Raeburn's method stands in no need of further explanation. His intention was to be absolutely true to Nature, and to reach that aim he was compelled to treat details as they actually came into his vision relatively to his sitter. He worked according to the general formula stated above. His vision, that is, was concentrated on his model; of anything else he had only an indistinct impression. He never, therefore, obtruded accessories to the division of attention with his principal subject. At the same time he exercised the artist's prerogative of selection, so that no suggested detail was admitted to the marring of his design, in respect of either line or harmony of colour. The principle of selection rested upon the effect aimed at. Unless tributary to it, details were rejected as not belonging to the essentials of subject.

The Treatment of Hands

His treatment of hands was regulated by the same rule. In his letter to Scott (see p. 153) the Duke of Buccleuch is amusingly wide of the mark. Hands may be expressive, but they cannot rival the face as indices of character. Raeburn, accordingly, treated them as items in his design, according to the prominence they derived

from the ground, usually that of costume, against which they were laid. Sometimes only one was admitted; at others they were frankly hidden by drapery, or gloved. In the "Macnab" the left is out of view, and only the back of the right is seen. In the "Sinclair" the right is half-concealed; of the left, only the part between the knuckles and the wrist is seen. In these cases the painter's ingenuity is exercised in so disposing the hands that they might not interfere with the concentration of attention upon the face.

Otherwise, Raeburn's conception of nature was wide and deep. It included the ever-new, ever-changing combinations of light and colour which, through the ages, have made the most intricate problem of art. The absolutely naturalistic imitation of real light acting upon the forms and colours of a face was the highest, purest, and most poetic art. The men who rail against imitation as the negation of art can have no conception of light's mysterious subtlety. It is only when the poetry of the sunbeam is ignored, and imitation stops at the surface, that the result is mechanical and inartistic.

Light and Life

Even beyond the play of light and its transformations of colour and surfaces Raeburn sought vitality, the inner life which includes character and temperament, or sentient individuality. In that also he followed nature, followed her into the inmost recesses of humanity. It has been already pointed out that he escaped monotony. Only by ad-

hering to nature did he secure variety. He did not pass all his sitters through one mechanical process, or turn them out of a common mould. He differentiated them not less in mental characteristics than in physical form.

In what, to Raeburn, Art Consisted

His all-embracing and consistent naturalism affected him in many possibly unthought-of ways. It touched the deference to form which may have contributed to his leaning towards sculpture, his method of direct painting without prepared grounds, his colour, his ideality, and his imagination. It impelled him towards the most direct realisation possible of what he saw. The art of painting, in all its essentials, was to him little more than the statement in colour of what his senses apprehended. The practice implies a limitation. He did not make beautiful colour an object *per se*, and he does not rank with the great colourists, but he had a thorough understanding of the power of colour and of its place in art, and having also a clear perception of its potential beauty, he managed it in his own practice with consummate taste.

Raeburn as Colourist

In flesh-painting his leaning is towards a grateful warmth. His faces are aglow with health, pulsing blood, and the vigour of life, and that is undoubtedly the quality which seated him firmly in popular favour, and has contributed greatly to his retention of a position in the front rank of portrait-painters. Living nature was his theme, and in none of his portraits is there seen a lifeless counter-

feit of humanity. The charge (see p. 128) that his carnations are at times so far forced as to indicate a more than naturally justifiable preference of the rose to the lily seems, on examination, to rest radically upon the assumption that all complexions are alike. Is it necessary to plead that, in nature, the hue of the rose alternates with pallor? If, at any time, Raeburn felt that the flush natural to his subject imperilled his colour-scheme by isolating the face, he generally restored balance by means of notes of bright colour worked into the accessories.

Completeness of Impression

Raeburn undoubtedly possessed ideality, but he did not idealise in the sense of exaltation to imagined perfection. He was led to aim at completeness of impression. A portrait should be the presentment of a life as well as a person, and to that end it should mass in recognisable shape the essentials of form, expression, character and tastes, pursuits or habits. This is obviously a far remove from mechanical and superficial imitation. Such an aim probes the hidden springs of being, and the distance at which the result falls short of its attainment is the measure of a portrait's incompleteness.

This is exemplified in the almost intangible, curiously subtle blending in "The Macnab" of the "character," as previously pointed out, with the Chief of the Highland clan. The "Lady Raeburn" is worth a volume upon the placid repose of matrimonial peace and confidence. There is meaning eloquence even in the folded

arms. The sunshine of a life is throbbing in the paint. In many other portraits—the "Admiral Duncan," "Lord Eldin," "Dr. Spens"—is an idea subsidiary to the artistic *motif*. Its expression gives measurable perfectness to the portrait. It enriches the colour with thought and purpose, impregnates the pigments with suggestions of the actual but unseen adjuncts of life. In its most obvious forms the judge sits on the judgment-seat, the archer stands at the butts, the Highland chief is seen amidst the mists and Bens of the North, the connoisseur dilutes law with art, the naval commander is afloat, the romancist sits brooding amongst mediæval ruins weaving the web of story.

Vitality and Ideality

In these ways Raeburn idealised, and it is with a feeling akin to regret that the distinction must be drawn between subject-interest and *technique*. It is, nevertheless, true that for supreme artistic excellence, it is with his simplest portraits — "Scott," "Wardrop," "Wauchope" — that the high-water mark of his command of his craft is drawn. The "Sinclair" is dexterous, but the "Wardrop" is masterly. In the triad named there is ideality, but refined into a quality to be felt rather than analysed. In the earlier group is seen the working of that form of imagination which does not create out of nothing, but vivifies the actual. In such manner vitality and ideality in his art run together. They fuse like the colours in a face, and can hardly be traced in separate operation in a nature singularly impressionable and fruitful.

Portraiture and History

The Local Accent in Artistry

In speaking of Raeburn as "The Scottish Master," it is not intended to identify him, as artist, with one country more than another, or to impute a local accent to his artistry. That his subjects are types is due to the decision of the Scottish character which they represent, and in nowise to his art. His were the penetration, sharpened by sympathy, to read the character, and the skill to portray it in colour.

Portraiture and History-painting

Into a final estimate of Raeburn many considerations enter, more especially if the object be to make him understood of laymen—the people who visit the picture-galleries. Apart from known subjects, portraits are apt to be uninteresting. Is there, in truth, anything drearier and more depressing than a long gallery of inhumanly exhibited "nobodies," mediocrities introduced by mediocrity, the trade samples of "commercials"? The claim is, of course, made that portrait-painting is the true history-painting; but at what point do these things touch history? The intelligence is none of the acutest which can see no distinction between Reynolds's "Kitty Fisher" or "Nelly O'Brien" and his "Lord Heathfield." A similar contrast may be drawn between Raeburn's "Miss Suttie" and his "Admiral Duncan." Going farther, no great acumen is needed to discriminate between a portrait of the victorious Admiral and a picture of the sea-fight of Camperdown. The identification of portraiture with history-

painting rests upon confounding history with the makers of history.

Degas's "L'Absinthe"

When Degas painted "L'Absinthe," he placed a man and a woman in a Paris café, him dashed with Bohemianism, lounging at a table with pipe and glass, her in *déshabillé,* a dweller perhaps in the Rue Fontaine, who has come for a fillip to a jaded appetite. Théodore Duret saw in it a study of contemporary manners; to Walter Crane it was a study in morals. It really matters little that the café is that of the Nouvelle Athènes, and that the Bohemian is no Bohemian, but M. Deboutin, a very respectable, clean-living engraver, "a moral man, a man of grace," as Hugh the Incomparable would say. When his identity is forgotten, and his respectability no longer in question, Degas's work will remain a wonderful example of the fine art of painting, and the Durets and Cranes will continue to see in its subject an illustration of Parisian customs and a discourse in ethics. It owes nothing to the painter's choice of a model. Any other would have answered his purpose equally well—M. Le Diable as well as M. Deboutin. It is not the portrait, but the significance of the work as a sketch of life in Paris that gives it a place among historical paintings. Some future Lecky may introduce it in a history of the morals of Paris in the nineteenth century.

When Wilkie painted "Knox Preaching" he did what he could with the Reformer, and took the pulpit from the thing itself, dragged for that purpose out

of a lumber-room. Carlyle would have none of his Knox; but, put aside the identity of both preacher and pulpit, and there still remains the representation of a historical incident. In Robert Gibb's "Thin Red Line" many of the faces are portraits, but they do not make the history. Fifty years hence none will know them. The men of the Ninety-third will only see in the canvas an event in the history of the regiment and of Great Britain:—"That's what our boys did a hundred years ago, and we'll let the world see we can do it again." The history and the inspiration are not in the portraits, but in the event.

The Realism of Wilkie and Gibb

From another point of view, Dr. John Brown says:—"In looking over Raeburn's portraits, one feels what would we not give to have such likenesses of Julius Cæsar and Hannibal, Plato and Alcibiades, of Lucian and Æsop, Moses and St. Paul, as we have here of Dugald Stewart and Dr. Adam, Horner and Scott? What we want is the eyes—the soul looking out. There are genuine busts of the great ancients—men and women; we know the snub nose of Socrates, the compact skull of Hannibal, and we have a whole row of those tremendous fellows the Roman Emperors, but we want to see the *eyes* of Cæsar and the keen, rich twinkle of Aristophanes. What would a Burns be without the eyes?"

The regret is prompted perhaps by curiosity, but a gallery of the Cæsars would not represent one historical event in which they took part, would not

vivify history. There are pen-pictures, and they only disturb imagination. What benefit comes of knowing that Milton was pale, but not cadaverous, and that his hands and fingers were gouty? What is there of conquest in a Julius Cæsar "handsome, with something of a feminine grace," "a tall, slender, well-made man, with a long, pale face"? What a shock to the heroic to look at a Charlemagne whose "neck was thick and rather short, and his belly rather protuberant"! When Holbein, in his portrait of Anne of Cleves, invested her with fictitious charms, and Henry VIII. proposed to her on the strength of it, the history was clearly not in the portrait, but in the trick the painter played bluff King Hal. The circumstance forms a rich comment, in its way, upon Carlyle's manner of reading portraits as historical documents. He took those in the "Tableaux historiques de la Révolution Française" to be authentic, and reflects gravely: "The natural face of a man is often worth more than several biographies of him." King Henry looked at Anne's portrait in that way, and sad was his disillusionment.

Charlemagne in History and in Pen-portraiture

However looked at, and whether faithful likenesses or not, portraits are not history, and portrait-painting is not historical painting. It is well to keep the distinction clear, although art does not depend upon subject. There may be far higher artistic quality, more of the fine art of painting, more perfect *technique,* more skilful illumination and deftly-managed chiaroscuro,

History and the Makers of History

purer colouring and finer modelling in a portrait than in any painting of history. The two works, however, are quite distinct, and precedence in rank will depend upon the judge, whether in a picture he sees art or subject.

Raeburn made no appeal to patriotism by entering the field of history. But he preserved for us the effigies of many who made history, especially that of literature. He painted a whole generation of those amongst whom he lived, and in them supplied a key to their life and time. To many of them a lasting personal interest attaches, but it is less in them than in his art that Raeburn lives. He was the technical forerunner of the later portrait-painters of France, who led to Sargent and the dashing breadth of Robert Brough. A good portrait by him is a revelation of the joyousness of life. He could not only read human nature with all its complexities and shades of distinction, but he had the faculty of phrasing his perceptions in colour. His sitters might be racial types, but he merged the typical aspect in the individual, and, in the power of individualising his models, while never losing sight of pictorial effect, it is doubtful if, at least among modern painters, he has a superior.

Appendices.

I. Catalogue of Raeburn's Works.
II. Raeburn's Miniatures.
III. Engravings after Raeburn.
IV. Raeburn Pictures in Public Galleries.
V. Prices fetched by Raeburn Pictures.
VI. Bibliography.

Appendix I.

Catalogue of Raeburn's Works.

[The letters R.S.A. mean Royal Scottish Academy; R.A., Royal Academy; N.G., National Gallery; N.G.S., National Gallery of Scotland; N.G.I., National Gallery of Ireland; N.P.G., National Portrait Gallery; S.N.P.G., Scottish National Portrait Gallery; F.A. in P.H., that the portrait belongs to the Faculty of Advocates, and is in the Parliament House, Edinburgh. Dates in brackets following name are those of subject's birth and death. The later date not bracketed is that of production, and the name preceding this that of the owner.]

No.	Subject.	Owner.	Date.
1	Abercrombie, Dr. John (1780-1844)	Miss Abercrombie	
2	Abercromby, Lord of Session, Alexander, of Tullibody (1745-95)	F.A. in P.H.	1789
3	Abercromby, Sir George, Bart., 4th Baronet, of Birkenbog (1750-1831)	Lady Abercromby	
4	Abercromby, Lady		
5	Abercromby, Sir Robert, 5th Baronet (1784-1855)	Lady Abercromby	
6	Abercromby, Lady	,,	
7	Aboyne, Countess of	Marquis of Huntly	
8	Adam, Alexander (1741-1809), LL.D., Rector of Edinburgh High School	N.G.S.	About 1808
9	Adam, Right Hon. William, of Blair Adam	T. Agnew & Sons	

No.	Subject.	Owner.	Date.
10	Agnew, Andrew	Sir Andrew N. Agnew, Bart., M.P.	About 1791
11	Agnew, Sir Andrew, Bart., 7th Baronet, of Lochnaw	Sir Andrew N. Agnew, Bart., M.P.	About 1816
12	Alexander, Colonel, of Ballochmyle (1789-1845)	Sir Claude Alexander, Bart.	
13	Alison, Rev. Archibald (1757-1839)	Sir John Stirling Maxwell, Bart., M.P.	
14	Allan, Alexander, Banker	Lieut.-Col. William Allan	
15	Allan, Lieut.-Col. George	Lieut.-Col. William Allan	
16	Allan, Robert, Banker (1740-1818)	T. Henry Allan	1800
17	Allan, Mrs., with Daughter	Lieut.-Col. Allan	
18	Allens, of Errol (?), Two Boys	Leopold Hirsch	
19	Anderson, David (1750-1825), of St. Germains	Captain D. M. Anderson	
20	Anderson, John, of Inchyra	Mrs. Anderson	
21	Anderson, Mrs., of Inchyra	A. R. Wilson Wood	
22	Argyll, John, 7th Duke of (1777-1847)	Duke of Argyll, K.T.	
23	Armadale, Lord of Session, Sir William Honyman, of Armadale (1756-1825). (Wife, of, *see* Honyman)	Mrs. Dallas	
24	Austin, Hon. Mrs.	The Baroness Sempill	
	Baillie, William. *See* Lord Polkemmet		
25	Baird, General Sir David (1757-1829)	Lord Abercromby	
26	Baird, Lady	,,	

27	Balfour, James ("Singing Jamie")	Mrs. Babington	
28	Balfour, Mrs. John, wife of Edinburgh publisher (1715-96)	Mrs. Beith	
29	Balfour, Miss Margaret, of Pilrig	Mrs. Junor	
30	Bannatyne, Lord of Session (1743-1833), Sir William Macleod	William McEwan	
31	Barclay, of Urie		
32	Barns, Sir James Stevenson	James Hope	
33	Bedford, K.G., John 6th Duke of (1766-1839)	Mr. Adam	
	Begbie, Mrs. *See* Carmichael		
34	Belhaven, Lady	J. H. McFadden	
35	Bell, Dr. Benjamin (1749-1806)		
36	Bell, Prof. George Joseph (1770-1843)	F.A. in P.H.	
37	,, ,, ,,	T. Jeffrey Bell	
38	Bell, Mrs., wife of Prof. Bell	,,	
39	Bell, Sheriff Robert (1782-1861)	Lord Moncrieff of Tulliebole	
40	Bell, Mrs., wife of Sheriff Bell (1788-1831)	,,	
41	Bell, Mrs., sister of Dr. Hamilton	W. Hamilton Bell	
42	Bell, Mrs. Catherine, unfinished	Sir E. Vincent, K.C.M.G., M.P.	
43	Binning, two sons of David Monro	G. H. Monro Home	About 1811
44	Black, Dr. John, Kirkcaldy (——1799)	Mrs. Hunter	
45	Black, Prof. Joseph (1728-99)	Sir George Warrender, Bart.	
46	Blair, Lord President Robert, of Avontoun (1741-1811)	J. A. Maconochie Welwood	
47	Blair, Robert, of Avontoun	W.S. Society, Edinburgh	1811
48	Blair, Rev. Prof. Hugh, D.D. (1718-1800)	Mr. Blair	
49	Blair, Master William, of Avontoun, son of Lord President (——1873)	Miss Blair	About 1814
50	Bonnar, Alexander, of Ratho (1750-1820)	N.G.S.	
51	Bonnar, Mrs., wife of Alexander Bonnar	,,	

No.	Subject.	Owner.	Date.
52	Bonnar, five children of John, The Grove. [Doubtful]		
53	Boothby, Bart., Sir Brooke	Lord Melville	
54	Boswall, Thomas, of Blackadder	Sir G. L. Houstoun Boswall, Bart.	About 1822
55	Boswall, Mrs., wife of Thomas Boswall	Sir G. L. Houstoun Boswall, Bart.	"
56	Boswell, Mrs. Irvine	I. Irvine Fortescue	About 1820
57	Boyle, Lord President David (1772-1853)	Earl of Glasgow	
58	Braidwood, William	Caledonian Insurance Co.	1819
59	Braxfield, Lord Justice Clerk, Robert Macqueen, of Braxfield (1722-99)	F.A. in P.H.	
60	Braxfield, Lord Justice Clerk	"	At later date
61	Breadalbane, 1st Marquis of (1726-——)	Hon. Mrs. Baillie-Hamilton	
62	Bremner, S.S.C., James (1747-1826)	S.S.C. Society, Edinburgh	
63	Brewster, Principal Sir David, D.C.L. (1781-1868)		
64	Brown, John, of Waterhaugh	Family	
65	Brown, Mrs. John	Mrs. Burn	
66	Brown, Robert, of Newhall	Mr. Brown	
67	Bruce, Lady Christian	Mr. Hay, of Duns Castle	
68	Bruce, James, Historiographer, E.I.C.		
69	Bruce, John		
70	Bruce, Robert (1795-1864), of Kennet, M.P.	Lord Balfour of Burleigh, K.T.	
71	Bruce, Col. Robert	A. Hamilton Bruce	

72	Buchan, David Steuart, Earl of (1742-1829)	N.G.I.	
73	Buchan, Robert	Mrs. Henderson	1823
74	Buchanan, D.D., Rev. Walter, of Canongate, Edinburgh		
75	Buchanan, Mrs.	Dr. Foulis	
76	Buchanan, Mrs. John, of Arnprior	Buchanan Baillie-Hamilton	
77	Bute, John Crichton Steuart, Marquis of	Marquis of Bute	About 1820
78	Byres, James, of Tonley (1734-1817)	D. Scott Moncrieff, Edinburgh	
79	Cadell, William, of Banton	H. M. Cadell	1810
80	Calderwood, Mrs. Thomas Durham, of Polton	Sir Robert Dundas, Bart.	
81	Cameron, George, afterwards Dr.	Mrs. Banks	
82	Cameron, Dr. George	Sir W. Mitchell Banks	
83	Campbell, General, of Lochnell	Duke of Argyll	1822
84	Campbell, Alexander, of Hillyards (1768-1817)	A. Campbell	
85	Campbell, Alexander, of Hillyards	R. B. Don, Broughty Ferry	
86	Campbell, Mrs., wife of Alexander Campbell	,, ,,	
87	Campbell, Alexander, of Haylodge	Miss Campbell	
88	Campbell, Col. Alexander, of Possil	Mrs. Atherton	
89	Campbell, Mrs. Alexander, of Possil	,,	
90	Campbell, Mr., of Park	,,	
91	Campbell, Mrs. Colin, of Park	,,	
92	Campbell, Mrs., of Park	J. Staat Forbes	
93	Campbell, Lord Frederick (1736-1816)	General Register House, Edinburgh	
94	Campbell, Mrs. James (1739-1815)	Lionel B. C. L. Muirhead	
95	Campbell, Sir John	Sir Arthur Halkett, Bart.	About 1795

No.	Subject.	Owner.	Date.
96	Campbell, John, sen., of Possil	Mrs. Atherton	
97	Campbell, Mrs. John, of Possil	,,	
98	Campbell, John, of Clathick	Mr. Colquhoun	
	Campbell, Miss Lilian. *See* Appendix V.		
99	Campbell, Mrs., of Ballimore (1735-1810)	N.G.S.	About 1795
100	Campbell, Mungo Nutter, of Ballimore (1790-1862)	Mr. Campbell	
101	Campbell, Lady Hume, and Child	N.G.S.	
	Campbell, Miss Margaret (Countess of Wemyss, *q.v.*)		
102	Campbell, Mrs. Louise	Sheriff Æ. Mackay	
103	Campbell, Mrs.		
104	Campbell, Mrs.	Mr. Byres, Pittsburg	
105	Campbell, of Kailzie	Mrs. Atherton	
106	Carmichael, Sir John Gibson, 6th Baronet of Skirling	Sir T. D. Gibson Carmichael, Bart.	About 1800
107	Carmichael, Sir John Gibson, replica	Sir T. D. Gibson Carmichael, Bart.	
108	Carmichael, Bart., Sir Thomas Gibson, 7th Baronet of Skirling	Sir T. D. Gibson Carmichael, Bart.	
109	Carmichael, Lady, wife of Sir Thomas Gibson Carmichael	Sir T. D. Gibson Carmichael, Bart.	
110	Carmichael, Miss Eleanor Margaret Gibson, wife of —. Begbie, Esq.	SirT. D. Gibson Carmichael, Brt.	

111	Carmichael, Miss E. M. G., replica of above	Sir T. D. Gibson Carmichael, Bart.	
112	Carnegie, David	James Carnegie	
113	Carnegie, Lady (1763-1860)	Earl of Southesk, K.T.	
114	Carnegie, Lady Agnes	Sir Andrew N. Agnew, Bart., M.P.	About 1810
115	Cathcart, Robert (1773-1812), W.S., of Drum	H. Hirsch	1812-13
116	Cathcart, Master, and Dog	T. Agnew & Sons	
117	Cay, Robert Hodshon, of N. Charlton	Mrs. Cay	About 1810
118	Cay, Mrs. John, mother of Robert Hodshon	,,	,,
119	Chalmers, George, of Pittencrieff	Dunfermline Town Council	1776
120	Chantrey, Sir F. L., R.A.		
121	Cleghorn, Dr. Robert (——1821)	Glasgow Royal Asylum	
122	Cleghorn, Dr.	R. Mann	
123	Cleghorn, Miss	R. Bennett	
	Clerk, John (Lord Eldin, *q.v.*)		
124	Clerk, John, of Eldin (——1812)	Sir G. D. Clerk, Bart.	
125	Clerk, Bart., Sir John and Lady, of Penicuik, 5th Baronet	Sir George Douglas Clerk, Bart.	About 1790
126	Clunes, Major William, with horse	R.S.A. in N.G.S.	
127	Cockburn, Lord (1778-1854)		
128	Colquhoun, Sheriff Archibald Campbell, of Claythorn, etc.	Mr. Colquhoun	
129	Colt, Robert, of Auldhame, M.P. (1756-97), and Lady	Captain Colt	
130	Colville, G.C.B., General the Hon. Lord (?)		
131	Compton, Earl, Marquis of Northampton	Marquis of Northampton, K.G.	

No.	Subject.	Owner.	Date.
132	Compton, Lady, Marchioness of Northampton	Marquis of Northampton, K.G.	About 1815
133	Constable, Archibald (1775-1827)	A. Constable	
134	Constable, Archibald, sketch only by Raeburn	T. & A. Constable	
	"Contemplation." *See* Johnstone, Mrs.		
135	Cowley, J.		
136	Craig, Bart., Sir James Gibson-, W.S. (1765-1850)	Sir James H. Gibson-Craig, Bart.	
137	Craig, Bart., Sir William Gibson-, M.P. (1797-1878)	Sir James H. Gibson-Craig, Bart.	About 1818
138	Craig, Lady Gibson-	Sir James H. Gibson-Craig, Bart.	
139	Craig, Mrs.	Rev. John Weir	
140	Craig, Lord of Session, William (1745-1813)	F.A. in P.H.	About 1810
141	Crawford, Mr., Glasgow	A. W. Inglis	
142	Crawford, Captain James Coutts, R.N.	J. C. Crawford	
143	Creech, William, Publisher (1745-1815)	Dr. Miller	1806
144	Creech, William	Rev. R. B. Watson	
	Crichton, Lady Elizabeth Penelope (Countess of Dumfries, *q.v.*)		
145	Cruikshank, Mr., of Langley Park	Forbes & Paterson	
146	Cruikshank, Mrs., wife of Mr. Cruikshank	A. Sanderson	

147	Cuming, Mrs.		
148	Cumming, Miss	Mr. Callander	
149	Cunninghame, Fairlie, of Fairlie, etc.	J. C. Cunninghame	
150	Cunninghame, John, of Craigends	,,	
151	Cunningham, Alexander (Burns's friend)	J. H. Cunningham	
152	Dalrymple, Lady	Sir Charles Dalrymple, Bart., M.P.	
153	Dalrymple, Elizabeth, Mrs. George Leith, of Overhall	Sir G. H. Dalrymple-Home-Elphinstone, Bart.	
154	Dalzel, Prof. Andrew (1742-1806)	S.N.P.G.	
155	Davidson, D.D., Rev. Thomas (1746-1827), of Muirhouse	Mr. Davidson	
156	Dickie, William. From a portrait	Caledonian Insurance Co.	1819
157	Dickson, D.D., Rev. Robert, of South Leith (1758-1824)	Kirk Session of South Leith	
158	Dougal, of Castle Semple, with dog	Miss Raeburn	
159	Douglas, Lord	Earl of Home	
160	Douglas, D.D., Rev. Robert, of Galashiels (1747-1820)	R. D. Thomson	1813
161	Douglas, Mrs., of Brigton	Mrs. Cox	
162	Drummond, General, of Machany	J. Buchanan Baillie-Hamilton	
163	Drummond, Harley	Macknight Crawfurd	
164	Drummond, Henry Home, 7th of Blair Drummond	Colonel Home Drummond	
165	Drummond, Mrs. Home	,,	1816
166	Drummond, Captain J., R.N.	Sir James H. Drummond, Bart.	
167	Drummond, Lady, of Hawthornden, wife of Sir John Forbes-Drummond, Bart.	,,	
168	Dudgeon. A lady member of family	N.G.	
169	Duff, Mrs. Patrick		

No.	Subject.	Owner.	Date.
170	Duff, Captain		
171	Dumfries, Patrick, 5th Earl of; and his ward, Flora, Countess of Loudoun	Marquis of Bute	1793
172	Dumfries, Countess of, and her daughter Lady Elizabeth Penelope Crichton, afterwards Viscountess Mountstuart	,,	,,
173	Dunbar, Sir Archibald	Sir Archibald Dunbar, Bart.	
174	Duncan, Alexander, W.S., of Restalrig and St. Fort (——1821)	Mrs. Anstruther-Duncan, of Naughton, Fife. In Public Art Gallery, Dundee	
175	Duncan, Prof. A., sen., M.D. (1744-1828)	Royal Medical Society, Edinburgh	
176	Duncan, sen., Dr. Andrew	Royal College of Physicians, Edinburgh	About 1819
177	Duncan, Admiral Viscount (1731-1804), Hero of Camperdown	Incorporation of Shipmasters, Trinity House, Leith	1798
178	Dundas, Col., 1st Earl of Zetland	Marquis of Zetland, K.T.	
179	Dundas, K.C.B., Sir David (1735-1820)	Sir Robert Dundas, Bart.	1809
	Dundas, Henry. *See* Melville		
180	Dundas, Mrs. Philip	Sir David Wedderburn	
181	Dundas, Robert, 2nd Lord President (1713-87), copy in P.H.	Sir Robert Dundas, Bart.	1787
182	Dundas, Robert. Bust	Mrs. Hamilton Ogilvy, Biel	
183	Dundas, Mrs., wife of 1st Lord President Dundas	Lord Melville	
184	Dundas of Arniston (1758-1819), Chief Baron Robert	Sir Robert Dundas, Bart.	1795

185	Dundas, General	Sir T. D. Gibson Carmichael, Bart.
186	Dundas, Lady Eleanor	Sir T. D. Gibson Carmichael, Bart.
187	Dundas, Mrs., of Arniston	Sir Robert Dundas, Bart.
	Dundas, Mrs., of Dundas. *See* Stirling, Christian	
	Dundas, Margaret (Mrs. Archibald Speirs, *q.v.*)	
188	Dunlop, John, Lord Provost of Glasgow	Misses Donald
189	Dunsinnan, Lord of Session, Sir William Nairne (——1811)	F.A. in P.H.
190	Durham, Mrs., wife of General Durham, Largo	Sir Robert Dundas, Bart.
191	Dyce, Alexander, afterwards Rev.	Dyce Room, Victoria and Albert Museum
192	Edgar, Alexander, of Auchengramont (——1820)	A. J. Forbes, Leith
193	Edgar, Dr. Handasyde, F.R.S.E. (——1810), son of above	H. Roberts
194	Edgar, James, of Auchengramont (——1813)	
195	Edgar, James, infant son of James Edgar (——1794)	C. A. Barton
196	Edgar, Mr.	Raeburn Family
197	Edgar, Miss	T. Baring
198	Edmonstone, Murray Kynynmond (Mrs. Buchanan, of Arnprior, *q.v.*)	
199	Eglinton, Archibald, 13th Earl of	Earl of Eglinton
200	Elcho, Lord, and Mr. Charteris	Earl of Wemyss

No.	Subject.	Owner.	Date.
201	Elder, Thomas, of Forneth, Lord Provost of Edinburgh (1737-99)	George Bayley	
202	Elder, Thomas, of Forneth	Edinburgh University	1798
203	Eldin, Lord of Session, John Clerk (1757-1832)	Sir George Douglas Clerk, Bart.	About 1787
204	Eldin, Lord, with "Crouching Venus" on table	Sir James H. Gibson-Craig, Bart.	
205	Elliot, Cornelius, of Wolfelee		
206	Elliot, Mrs., wife of Cornelius Elliot (——1796)		
207	Elliot, Major William, son of Cornelius Elliot (——1805)		
208	Erskine, Hon. Henry (1746-1817)	Sir James Wolfe Murray	About 1805
209	,,	Misses Fullarton	,,
210	,,	Campbell Munro	
211	,,	Mrs. Wilbraham Tollemache	
212	Erskine, James, of Cardross	W. J. Hay, Duns Castle	
213	,,	J. E. Erskine	
214	Erskine, D.D., Rev. John, of Carnock (1722-1803)	Mr. Burnett	
215	Erskine, Hon. Mrs., wife of Rev. John Erskine	Mr. Burnett of Kemnay	
216	Erskine, Lady Christian	J. E. Erskine	
	Erskine, Anne. *See* Mrs. Wauchope		
	Erskine, William. *See* Lord Kinneder		
217	Erskine, Colonel		

218	Eskgrove, Lord Justice Clerk (1724-1804), Sir David Rae, Bart.	F.A. in P.H.	
219	Farquhar, Sir Walter		
220	Farquharson, Archibald, of Finzean	Dr. Farquharson, M.P.	
221	Fergusson, Sir Adam, of Kilkerran	Sir James Fergusson, Bart., M.P.	
222	Ferguson, Prof. Adam, LL.D. (1724-1816)	University of Edinburgh	
223	Ferguson, Dr. Adam	Mrs. Ferguson	
224	Ferguson, Hugh Munro, of Raith	R. C. Munro Ferguson, M.P.	
225	Ferguson, General Sir Ronald, G.C.B., M.P. (1773-1841)	,,	About 1792
226	Ferguson, Sir Ronald, G.C.B.	,,	1795
227	Ferguson, Sir Ronald and Robert	,,	About 1790
228	Ferguson, Robert (1770-1840), of Raith, M.P.	,,	About 1822-3
229	Ferguson, William, of Raith, and 3rd son	,,	
230	Ferguson, Mrs., of Raith, and her children, Ronald and Beatrice	,,	About 1781
231	Ferguson, William, of Kilrie, 3rd son of William Ferguson of Raith	,,	Before 1790
232	Fettes, Bart., Sir William (1750-1836)	Trustees of Fettes College	
233	Fettes, William, son of Sir William Fettes (1787-1815)	,,	
234	Fife, Alexander, Earl of	Duke of Fife, K.T.	
235	Fife, James, 4th Earl of	,,	
236	Finlay, Mrs. Alexander, of Glencorse	Mrs. Glassford Bell	
237	Forbes, James, of Seaton	Trustees of Miss Hay's nephews	
238	Forbes, John Stuart (1804-1866), afterwards 8th Baronet of Pitsligo	Hon. C. F. Trefusis	About 1808

No.	Subject.	Owner.	Date.
239	Forbes, Sir William (1739-1806), 6th Baronet of Pitsligo	Hon. C. F. Trefusis	About 1805
240	Forbes, Sir William ,,	Mrs. Mackenzie	
241	Forbes, Sir William, 7th Baronet of Pitsligo	,,	
242	Forbes, William (1802-26), son of 7th Baronet	Hon. C. F. Trefusis	About 1808
243	Forbes, Lady	Lord Sempill	
244	Forbes, Miss	F. Fleischmann	
245	Fox, Charles James (1749-1806)	R. A. Oswald	
246	Fraser, Lieut.-Col. Mackenzie, of Castle Fraser	Col. Mackenzie Fraser	
247	Fraser, Lieut.-General Alexander Mackenzie, of Castle Fraser	Mrs. Mackenzie	
248	Fraser, jun., Alexander Charles (1789-1816), of Reelig	A. Hirsch	1803
249	Fraser, Edward S., of Reelig (1751-1835)		1800
250	Fraser, E. S. (1786-1813)		1803
251	Fraser, Miss Eliza, of Castle Fraser	Col. Mackenzie Fraser	
252	Fraser, George John, of Reelig (1800-1842)		1815
253	Fraser, James Baillie (1783-1856)		1809
254	Fraser, Jane A. C., of Reelig (1797-1880)	W. Beattie	1816
255	Fraser, Jane Fraser Tytler, wife of James Baillie Fraser		
256	Fraser, William, jun., of Reelig (1784-1835)		1801
257	Fullarton, William, of Skeldon	Miss Fullarton	1805

258	Galloway, William	Merchant Co., Edinburgh	
259	Gellion, Charles F.	Forbes & Paterson	
260	Gevine, Mrs.	Dr. Farquharson, M.P.	
261	Gibb, Mr. [Pastel]	Formerly owned by Captain Robertson Reid	
	Gibson-Craig. *See* Craig		
262	Gilchrist, Ebenezer, of Newtonaird	John McCulloch	
263	Gladstone, Thomas (——1809)	Sir J. R. Gladstone, Bart.	
264	Gladstone, Mrs. (Helen Neilson, of Springfield)	,,	
265	Glenlee, Lord President; Sir Thomas Miller of Barskimming and Glenlee (1717-89). (Wife of, *see* Miller)		
266	Gordon, Alex., 4th Duke of (1743-1827)	Duke of Manchester	
267	Gordon, George, 5th Duke (1770-1836)	A. W. Inglis	
268	,, ,,	Miss Raeburn	
269	Gordon, Jane, Duchess of (——1812), wife of 4th Duke	T. Agnew & Sons	
270	Gordon, John, of Aitkenhead	Mr. Gordon	
271	Gordon, Mrs., ,,	,,	
272	Gow, Neil (1727-1807)	S.N.P.G.	1787
273	,, Replica	County Hall, Perth	
274	,, ,,	Duke of Atholl, K.T.	
275	,,	Hon. Mr. Gray, Kinfauns	
276	,, Presented to Gow by Raeburn	Mrs. Mackenzie	
277	,,	Earl of Rosebery, K.G., K.T.	
278	Graeme, John, of Eskbank	Maxtone Graham	
279	Graeme, Mrs.	,,	
280	Graham, John, of Gartin	H. D. Erskine	
281	Graham, Mrs., ,,	,,	

No.	Subject.	Owner.	Date.
282	Graham, Bart., Right Hon. Sir James	Sir Richard Graham, Bart.	About 1800
283	Graham, Robert Cunningham, of Gartmore (1730-1798). Begun by David Martin; finished by Raeburn		
284	Grahame, Mrs., of Whitehill	Mr. Grahame	
285	Grant, Alan	Arthur Sanderson	
286	Grant, Sir James, 23rd Laird of Grant	Countess Dowager of Seafield	
287	Grant, Sir J. P.	J. P. Grant, The Doune	1796
288	Grant, Lady	,,	,,
289	Grant, Mrs., of Kilgraston	The Hon. Stuart Gray	
290	Grant, Mrs., ,,	E. Grant Fraser Tytler	
291	Gray, Lord Francis	Hon. Stuart Gray, Kinfauns	
292	,,	,,	1786
293	Gray, Hon. John	,,	
294	Gray, John, Baron		
295	Gray, John (1731-1811), of Newholm	Major-General Cunningham	
296	Gray, John Hamilton, afterwards Rev., of Carntyne (1800-67)	Mrs. Gray	
297	Gregory, Prof. James, M.D. (1753-1821)	A. J. Forbes Leith	
298	,, ,, Replica	Royal College of Physicians, Edinburgh	
299	Gregory, Mrs. (1770-1847), wife of Prof. James Gregory, M.D.	A. J. Forbes Leith	About 1796
300	Greig, Mrs.		
301	Griffith, M.P., Mr.	Baron Gustave de Rothschild, Paris	
302	Guthrie, John, of Carbeth (1768-1834)	Guthrie Smith	

303	Haddington, Countess of. [Doubtful]	Dr. Paton	
304	Haig, James		
305	Halkett, Mrs. Craigie	W. H. B. Sands	
306	Hamilton, Douglas, 8th Duke of	Duke of Hamilton	
307	Hamilton and Brandon, Duke of, with Arab horse	,,	
308	Hamilton and Brandon, Duke of	Lord Rossmore	About 1792
309	Hamilton, William, 11th Duke of (1811-63)	Duke of Hamilton	About 1813
310	Hamilton, Elizabeth (1758-1816), Authoress		
311	Hamilton, sen., Dr. James (1749-1835)	Lord Moncrieff	
312	Hamilton, Lady Jane Montgomerie	Earl of Eglinton	
313	Hamilton, John, of Pencaitland (1754-1804)	Sir Robert Dundas, Bart.	
314	Hamilton, John, of Pencaitland. Replica	Mrs. Hamilton Ogilvy	
315	Hamilton, Mrs. John, of Pencaitland	Sir Robert Dundas, Bart.	
316	Hamilton, General John, of Orbiston and Dalzell (1742-1834)	Lord Hamilton of Dalzell	
317	Hamilton, John, of North Park (1754-1829)	Mr. Hamilton	
318	Hamilton, Mrs.	,,	
319	Hamilton, Mrs., of Kames	N.G.S.	
320	Harrower, James, of Inzievar	Forbes & Paterson	
321	,, with wife and son	Mr. Macfarlane	
322	Harvey, John, of Castle Semple	J. W. Shand Harvey	
323	Harvey, Colonel Lee	,,	
324	Harvey, Mrs. Lee, and daughter	,,	1822-23
325	Hardwicke, Earl of		
326	Hart, Mrs., wife of Major Hart, Castlemilk, Dumfriesshire	Major Hotchkis, Crookston	About 1810
327	Hastings, Warren		

No.	Subject.	Owner.	Date.
	Hay, Charles. *See* Lord Newton		
328	Hay, Sir James, 4th Baronet, of Haystone	Sir Duncan E. Hay, Bart.	About 1806
329	Hay, Sir James, Bart., of Haystone	Mrs. Mackenzie	
330	Hay, Sir John, Bart., of Haystone (1755-1830)	Sir Duncan Edwin Hay, Bart.	About 1818
331	Hay, John, Master of Trinity House	Incorporation of Shipmasters, Trinity House, Leith	1820
332	Hay, Captain Robert, of Spott	Arthur Sanderson	
333	Hay, Mrs., of Spott	,,	
334	Hepburn, Nellie	Earl of Haddington	
335	Hill, Prof. Dr. John, and son	Charles Cook	About 1801
336	Hill, Principal George, St. Andrews (1750-1819)	Mr. Baillie	
337	Hill, Mrs., wife of Principal G. Hill	Messrs. Wallis	
338	Home, George, of Branxton	Col. Milne Home	
339	Home, George H. M. B. (son of D. M. Binning, *q v.*)		
340	Home, Miss Jean	,,	
341	Home, Rev. John (1724-1808)		
342	,, ,,	N.P.G.	
343	,, ,, Honyman, Sir William (Lord Armadale, *q.v.*)	Earl of Haddington	
344	Honyman, Lady, wife of Sir W. Honyman	Mrs. Dallas	About 1800
345	Hope, Right Hon. Charles (1763-1851), of Granton, Lord President	Earl of Hopetoun, K.T.	

346	Hope, Right Hon. Charles	Adrian Hope	
347	Hope, General Hon. Charles (1768-1828)	Earl of Hopetoun, K.T.	
348	Hope, Lady Charlotte, wife of Lord President	Adrian Hope	About 1811
349	Hope, Hugh, son of Sir Archibald Hope (1782-1822)	Sir Alexander Hope, Bart., Pinkie	About 1810
350	Hope, Prof. Thomas Charles (1766-1844)	Mr. Hope	
351	Hope, Major	Mr. Horsburgh	
352	Hope, Mrs.	Henry Cook	
353	Hopetoun, 2nd Earl of. Copy by Raeburn after Allan Ramsay	Earl of Hopetoun, K.T.	
354	Hopetoun, G.C.B., General John, 4th Earl of (1765-1823)	County Hall, Linlithgow	1817
355	Hopetoun, General John. Replica	County Hall, Cupar	
356	Horner, Francis (1778-1817)	N.P.G.	1812
357	,, Replica	Speculative Society, Edinburgh	1817
358	,, Replica of part	Earl of Rosebery, K.G., K.T.	
359	,,	S.N.P.G.	
360	Houston, Governor Alexander, of Clerkington	Major Houston	
361	Houston, Mrs., of Clerkington	,,	
362	Hume, Prof. David (1756-1838)	F.A. in P.H.	1822
363	,, Replica	W.S. Society, Edinburgh	
364	Hume, Joseph, son of above	Lord Kingsburgh	
365	Hunt, William, of Pittencrieff	Col. Hunt	1810
366	,, ,, replica	Mr. Macfarlane	
367	Hunter, D.D., Prof. Andrew (1740-1806)	Mrs. Hunter, Arundel	
368	Hunter, Mrs., of Burnside	Mrs. Cox.	
369	Huntly, Marquis of		
370	Hutton, James, M.D. (1726-97)	Sir George Warrender, Bart.	

No.	Subject.	Owner.	Date.
371	Inglis, Admiral Charles	Sir J. D. Don Wauchope, Bart.	
372	Inglis, Rev. Harry. Copy by Raeburn	A. W. Inglis	
373	Inglis, Henry David		
374	Inglis, Henry Raeburn, artist's step-grandson. Raeburn's diploma picture, "Boy and Rabbit"	Royal Academy	1821
375	Inglis, Sir Patrick, of Sunnyside	Sir J. Don Wauchope, Bart.	
376	Inglis, William	Member of Harveian Society, Edinburgh	
377	Jackson, Commissioner James, Excise	Dr. Jackson	
378	Jaegar, John M. Bucklitsch, with pony	Earl of Kintore	
379	Jameson, John	Mr. John Jameson	
380	Jameson, Mrs.	,,	
381	Jamieson, William (——1886)	Glasgow Corporation Galleries	
382	Jardine, Prof. George, of Hallside (1742-1827)	Mr. Jardine	
383	Jardine, Mrs., wife of Prof. G. Jardine	,,	
384	Jardine, Sir Henry	Miss Cullen	About 1820
385	Jeffrey, Lord (1773-1850)	Earl of Rosebery, K.G., K.T.	
386	Johnstone, D.D., Rev. David (1734-1824)	Mr. Macbriar	
387	,, ,, Replica	Blind Asylum, Edinburgh	
388	Johnston, Commodore George (—-1787), M.P.	Mrs. Ferguson	
389	Johnston, Commodore George. Replica	T. Agnew & Sons	
390	Johnston, Mrs., wife of Commodore G. Johnston	Mrs. Ferguson	

391	Johnston, James, of Straiton	Lady Baillie	
392	Johnston, Mrs., wife of James Johnston Johnston, Lucy (Mrs. Oswald, *q.v.*)	,,	About 1800
393	Johnstone, John, of Alva, with sister and niece, Miss Wedderburn	Miss Johnstone	
394	Johnstone, Sir William Pulteney	,,	
395	Johnstone, Mrs. "Contemplation"		
396	Johnstone, Mrs., of Baldovie		
397	Keith, Alexander, of Ravelston	Miss Murray, Gartshore	
398	Kennedy, Thomas, of Dunure	Mr. Kennedy	About 1812
399	Kennedy, Mrs., of Dunure Castle	,, , Dalquharran	About 1811
400	,, ,, Replica	R.S.A. in N.G.S.	
401	Kennedy, Right Hon. Thomas F., of Dunure, M.P. (1788-1879)	Mr. Kennedy, Dalquharran	
402	Kerr, Sir James Innes	Duke of Roxburghe	
403	Kerr, Lady Innes	,,	
404	King, Thomas, of Drums	Forbes & Paterson	
405	Kinnear, Mrs. George	Lord Kinnear	
406	Kinnedder, Lord of Session: William Erskine (1769-1822)	Captain Erskine	
407	Kinnoul, 10th Earl of	Earl of Kinnoul	
408	Lauzun, Anne Neal (1776-1861)	N.G.	1795
409	Law, James, of Elvinston, F.R.C.S.E.		
410	Law, John, of Elvinston (——1887)		
411	Law, Sheriff William (1714-1806), of Elvinston		
	Leith, Mrs. George, of Overhall. *See* Dalrymple, Elizabeth		
412	Leslie Boy, The	Sir Charles Tennant, Bart.	

No.	Subject.	Owner.	Date.
413	Liddell, Mrs.	Mrs. Cay	Before 1810
414	Lindesay, John Scott (afterwards Col.)	W. H. B. Sands	
415	Lindsay, Alexander, of Pinkieburn	Lindsay Alexander	About 1807
416	Lindsay, Rev. James (1711-96) of Pinkieburn	W. L. Alexander	
417	Liston, Sir Robert, K.G.C.B. (1742-1826)	Sir William Liston-Foulis, Bart.	
418	Liston, Lady, wife of Sir Robert Liston	,,	
419	Livingstone, Rev. Archibald, of Cambusnethan	Dr. James Livingstone	
420	Livingstone, E.		
421	Loch, Miss	Mrs. Atherton	
422	Lothian, Walter	Merchant Company, Edinburgh	
423	Lothian, William, 6th Marquess of, K.T.	Marquis of Lothian	
	Loudoun, Countess of. *See* Dumfries, Earl of		
424	Low, Adam, of Fordel	Town Council of Dunfermline	
425	Lyon, Lieut.-Col.	D. Smith	
426	,,	Lord Kinnear	
427	McCall, Mrs., of Ibroxhill	T. Denroche Smith	
428	Macartney, Miss	F. C. Pawle	1794
429	McCormick, Sheriff Edward	F.A. in P.H.	
430	Macdonald, Reginald George (1788-1873), 18th Chief of Clanranald, and two brothers, Robert and Donald	Mrs. Ernest Hills	About 1800
431	Macdonald, William (1732-1814), of St. Martin's	Highland and Agricultural Society, Edinburgh	1803

432	Macdonald, Colonel, of St. Martin's	Fairmount Park Gallery, Philadelphia, U.S.A.	
433	Macdonald, Major Robert		
434	Macdonell, Alastair, Chief of Glengarry	Mr. Cunninghame	
435	Macdonell, Somerled		
436	Macdougall, Alan, of Gallanach (1768-1807)	Sir John Stirling-Maxwell, Bart., M.P.	
437	Macdowell, General Hay	H. D. Erskine	
438	Macfarlane, William		
439	Mackenzie, Sir Alexander, 5th Bart., of Coul (——1792)	Sir Arthur G. R. Mackenzie, Bart.	About 1782
440	Mackenzie, Lady, wife of Sir Alexander Mackenzie, 5th Bart.	,, ,,	
441	Mackenzie, Sir Alexander Muir, Bart. (1764-1835), of Delvine	Sir Alex. Muir Mackenzie, Bart.	
442	Mackenzie, Lady Muir	,, ,,	
443	Mackenzie, Mrs. Alexander, of Portmore		
444	Mackenzie, jun., Lieut.-Col. Alexander, of Portmore	Mrs. Mackenzie	About 1800
445	Mackenzie, jun., Alexander, of Portmore	,,	1822
446	Mackenzie, Colin, of Portmore	,,	
447	Mackenzie, Mrs. Colin, of Portmore	,,	
448	Mackenzie, the Hon. Francis John, of Seaforth	Miss Mackenzie	
449	Mackenzie, Sir George Steuart, Bart., of Coul (1780-1848)	Rev. John Mackenzie	About 1811
450	Mackenzie, Sir George Steuart, Bart., of Coul (1780-1848), as Boy	Sir Arthur G. R. Mackenzie, Bart.	

No.	Subject.	Owner.	Date.
451	Mackenzie, Sir George Steuart, Bart., of Coul (1780-1848)	Sir Arthur G. R. Mackenzie, Bart.	
452	Mackenzie, Alexander, of Portmore	Mrs. Mackenzie	
453	Mackenzie, Henry (1745-1831), "The Man of Feeling"	N.P.G.	
454	Mackenzie, Henry		
455	,,	S. Mackenzie	
456	,,	Forbes & Paterson	
457	Mackenzie, the Hon. William, of Seaforth	Col. Mackenzie Fraser	
458	Mackenzie, Lady (1754-1829), of Coul	Rev. John Mackenzie	About 1794
459	Mackenzie, Lady, wife of 6th Baronet, of Coul	Sir Arthur G. R. Mackenzie, Bart.	
460	Macleod, Sheriff Donald, of Geanies (1755-1834)	Rev. John Mackenzie	About 1800
461	Macleod, General Norman, of Macleod	Macleod of Macleod	
	Macleod, Sir Wm. (Lord Bannatyne, *q.v.*)		
462	Macleod, Mrs., 2nd wife of General Norman Macleod	,,	
463	McMurdo, Lieut.-Col. Bryce	N.G.	
464	Macnab, The (1734-1816), Francis, 12th Laird of	Hon. Mrs. Baillie Hamilton, Langton	
465	Macneill, Roderick, of Barra, Chief of Clan		
466	Macneill, Mrs., wife of Roderick Macneill		
	Maconochie, Hon. Allan (Meadowbank, 1st Lord, *q.v.*)		

467	Maconochie, Mrs., wife of Hon. Allan Maconochie, Lord Meadowbank	J. A. Maconochie Welwood	1818
	Macqueen, Robert (Lord Braxfield, *q.v.*)		
468	Macqueen, Mrs., wife of Lord Braxfield	John Ord Mackenzie	1790
469	Maitland, Admiral	Misses Raeburn	
470	Maitland, Lady, wife of Admiral Sir Frederick	Commander Maitland-Dougall, Scotscraig, Tayport	
471	Makgill, Captain George, of Kimback		
472	Makgill, Mrs., wife of Capt. Geo. Makgill		
473	Makgill, Miss, sister of Captain George Makgill (name and relationship doubtful)	Mrs. Makgill	
474	Malcolm, K.C.B., Sir James	W. E. Malcolm	
475	Malcolm, Mrs., of Burnfoot	Mr. Malcolm	
476	Mar, John Francis, 7th Earl of	Earl of Mar and Kellie	
477	,, ,, Earl of	,,	
478	Marcet, Alexander, M.D.		
479	Maxwell, Harriet, of Pollok (1789-1841)	Sir John Stirling-Maxwell, Bart., M.P.	
480	Maxwell, Sir John, Bart., of Pollok (1791-1865)	,, ,,	
481	Maxwell, General Sir William, of Calderwood, Bart. (1754-1837)	Col. Neilson	
482	Maxwell, Bart., Sir William (1748-1829)	Capt. Gill	
483	Meadowbank, 1st Lord of Session, Hon. Professor Allan Maconochie (1748-1816)	J. A. Maconochie Welwood	1814
	For wife of, *see* Maconochie		
484	Meadowbank, 2nd Lord of Session (1777-1861). Hon. Alexander Maconochie Welwood, formerly M.P.	,, ,,	1816

No.	Subject.	Owner.	Date.
	Meath, the Right Rev. Lord Bishop. *See* O'Beirne		
485	Melville, Henry Dundas, 1st Lord (1742-1811)	Bank of Scotland, Edinburgh	
486	,, Replica of part	A. W. Inglis	
487	Melville, John Whyte, of Bennochy (1755-1813)	Balfour-Melville	
488	Melville, General Robert, of Strathkinness (1723-1809)	,,	
489	Menzies, Sir Robert, 5th Bart. (——1814)	Sir Robert Menzies, Bart.	1802
	Miller, Sir Thomas. *See* Glenlee, Lord		
490	Miller, Lady, of Glenlee, 2nd wife of Lord Glenlee	Trustees of A. W. Miller	
491	Milne, Admiral Sir David, G.C.B. (1763-1845)	Col. Milne Holme	1819
492	Moir, Miss Annie	R. W. C. G. Henderson	
493	Molesworth, Sir Arscott Curry, Bart., of Pencarrow, Cornwall	Mrs. Ford	1816
494	Moncrieff, Mrs. Scott-	R.S.A. in N.G.S.	
495	,, ,, Replica	Thomas J. Barratt	
496	Moncrieff, Robert Scott-, of Newhall	Orphan Hospital, Edinburgh	
497	Monro, Alexander, M.D.		
	Monro, Alexander Binning (son of D. M. Binning, *q.v.*)		
498	Monteith, Henry, of Carstairs, M.P. (1765-1848)	Mr. Monteith	
499	Monteith, Mrs. James	Dr. Walter C. Smith	About 1820

500	Montgomery, Sir James, Bart. (1721-1803)	Sir James Graham Montgomery, Bart.	1801
501	,, ,, Replica	Sir W. S. Walker, K.C.B.	
502	Montgomery, Sir James. Replica		
503	,, ,, (1766-1839), 2nd Baronet of Stanhope, M.P.	Sir James Graham Montgomery, Bart.	1807
504	Montgomery, Sir James, Bart., of Stanhope	Mrs. Mackenzie	
505	Montgomery, Lady, wife of Sir James Montgomery	Sir James Graham Montgomery, Bart.	About 1810
	Montgomery, Lord (Earl of Eglinton, *q.v.*)		
506	Montgomery, Robert	S.N.P.G.	About 1800
507	More, Hannah (1745-1833)	The Louvre	
508	Munro, Sir Thomas (1760-1827)	Campbell Munro	
509	Munro, Mrs., mother of Sir Thos. Munro	,,	
510	Murdoch, George, Lord Provost, Glasgow	Mr. Yuille	
511	Mure, Thomas, of Warriston	Miss Mure	
512	Mure, Mrs. ,,	,,	
513	Murray, Lord of Session (1779-1859), Sir John Archibald Murray, M.P.	Mr. Kennedy, Dalquharran Castle	
514	Murray, Sir William, Bart., of Ochtertyre (——1800)	Sir Patrick Keith Murray	
515	Nasmyth, Lady Eleanor, of Posso	Mrs. David Anderson	
516	,, ,, ,, Replica	Captain D. M. Anderson	
517	Nairne, Captain Alexander, H.E.I.C.S.	Rev. Spencer Nairne	
	Nairne, Sir William. *See* Dunsinnan		1813
518	Newbigging, James	Mr. Rolland	

No.	Subject.	Owner.	Date.
519	Newbigging, Mrs., wife of Jas. Newbigging	Mrs. Rainy	About 1795
520	Newton, Lord of Session, Charles Hay (1740-1811), of Newton	N.G.S.	1806-11
521	Newton, Lord of Session, Charles Hay	R. C. Munro-Ferguson, M.P.	
522	,, ,, ,,	Henry Graves	
523	Nicol, D.D., Rev. Principal Francis	Ministers' Widows' Fund, Church of Scotland	
	Northampton, Marquess and Marchioness of (Earl and Lady Compton, *q.v.*)		
524	O'Beirne, Rev. Lucius, Bishop of Meath	Dresden Gallery	
525	O'Beirne, Mrs., wife of ,,	M. Sedelmeyer, Paris	
	Ord, Elizabeth (Mrs. Robert Macqueen, *q.v.*)		
526	Oswald, Mrs., of Auchencruive	Mr. Oswald	About 1794
527	,, ,, Replica		
528	Paterson, George, of Castle Huntly	Charles J. G. Paterson	
529	Paterson, George, John and Margaret, children of Patersons, of Castle Huntly	,,	About 1790
530	Pattison, John, of Kelvingrove (1755-1807)	Mr. Pattison	
531	Pattison, Mrs.	,,	
532	Perth, Lady, and daughter, Lady Willoughby de Eresby	Earl of Ancaster	1792
533	Phillips, Mrs. John, of Stobcross		
534	Pillans, Professor James (1778-1864)		

535	Pitcairn, Mrs. David (mentioned in London Sale Catalogue, 1903)		
536	Pitcairn, John, of Pitcairn	W. F. Pitcairn	About 1819
537	,, Provost of Dundee	R.S.A.	
538	Pitcairn, Mrs., wife of ,,	,,	
539	Playfair, Professor John, M.A. (1748-1819)	University of Edinburgh	
540	,, ,, Replica	N.P.G.	
541	,, ,,	Marquess of Lansdowne, K.G.	
542	Polkemmet, Lord of Session, William Baillie, of Polkemmet	Sir Andrew N. Agnew, Bart., M.P.	
543	Preston, Sir Robert	J. A. Maconochie Welwood	
544	Pringle, Miss Anne, of Crichton	Prof. A. S. Pringle Pattison	Probably about 1813
545	Pringle, Miss Violet, daughter of Lord Haining (1725-1821)	,, ,,	Probably about 1813
546	Pulteney, Sir William, Bart., M.P.	Lord Grantley	
	Rae, Sir David, Bart. (Lord Eskgrove, *q.v.*)		
547	Raeburn, Sir Henry, R.A. (1756-1823)	Lord Tweedmouth	About 1815
548	Raeburn, Lady (1744-1833), wife of Sir Henry Raeburn	,,	About 1795
549	Raeburn, Henry (1784-1863), 2nd son of above, mounted on grey pony	Earl of Rosebery	About 1796
550	Raeburn, Henry, with horse. Henry by John Syme, horse by Raeburn		
551	Raeburn, Eliza, daughter of Henry. Died at six		
552	Ramsay, Robert, of Camno	Sir Arthur G. R. Mackenzie, Bart.	
553	Ramsay, Mrs. (London Sale Catalogue, 1903)		

No.	Subject.	Owner.	Date.
554	Rannie, James	Campbell Swinton	
555	Reid, Mrs. F. Robertson, of Gallowflat		
556	Reid, Prof. Dr. Thomas (1710-96)	A. J. Forbes Leith	
557	,, ,, Replica	Glasgow University (in S.N.P.G.)	
558	,, ,, ,,		
559	Rennie, John (1761-1821), engineer	W. H. Rennie	
560	Rennie, John		
561	Robertson, Andrew		
562	Robertson, Patrick, W.S., of Gallowflat		
563	Robertson, Mrs. Patrick, of Gallowflat		
564	Robertson, Mrs. George	R. Laking	
565	Robertson, Principal William, D.D., (1721-93)	University of Edinburgh	
566	Robison, Professor John (1739-1805)	,,	
567	,, ,, ,,	Royal Society, Edinburgh	
568	Rolland, Adam, of Gask (1734-1819)	S.S.P.C.K. in N.G.S.	
569	,, ,, ,, Replica	Mrs. Rolland	
570	,, ,, ,, ,,	Mrs. Rainy	
571	Rolland, James	Mr. Rolland	
572	Rosebery, K.T., Neil, 3rd Earl of (1728-1814)	Earl of Rosebery, K.G., K.T.	
573	Ross, John Cockburn, of Rowchester	T. Agnew & Sons	
574	Ross, Jane, wife of J. C. Ross, ,,	,,	
575	Ross, Walter (known as "The Yellow Boy"), son of John Ross, W.S.	Henry Cook	
576	Ross, William, of Shandwick	T. Agnew & Sons	

577	Ross, Miss Wilhelmina, of Shandwick	T. Agnew & Sons	
578	Rosslyn, Earl of, Alexander Wedderburn (1733-1805), Lord Chancellor. In Lord Chancellor's robes		
579	Russell, Lord William (1767-1840), grandson of 4th Duke of Bedford	Mr. Adam	
580	Russell, Mrs. (family of Bannerman, of Elsick)	Mr. Barstow	
581	Rutherford, Professor Dr.		
582	Sands, Major W. J., H.E.I.C.S.		
583	Scott, Col. Francis	M. Trevelyan Martin	
584	Scott, Sir Walter. In youth		
585	,, ,, (1771-1832)	Duke of Buccleuch, K.G., K.T., Bowhill	1808
586	,, ,,	Hon. Mrs. Maxwell Scott, Abbotsford	1809
587	,, ,,	Earl of Home	1822-23
588	,, ,,	Arthur Sanderson	,,
589	,, ,, Replica	Baroness Burdett-Coutts	
590	Seafield, Lord		
591	Seaforth, Lord		
592	Selkrig, Charles	James Hay	
593	Shirriff, Lieut-Col., H.E.I.C.S.	Mrs. Gillespie	
594	Shuttleworth, Mr.	Lady Marjoribanks, Lees	
595	Simpson, Mrs., of Parson's Green	W. McEwan	
596	Sinclair, George (as a child, afterwards Sir George)	Sir Tollemache Sinclair	About 1794
597	Sinclair, Sir John, Bart. (1754-1835), M.P.	A. Sinclair	About 1790
598	,, ,, of Ulbster, Bart.	Martin Colnaghi	About 1795
599	Sinclair, Right Hon. Sir John, Bart.	A. Sinclair	About 1794

No.	Subject.	Owner.	Date.
600	Sinclair, Sir John, Bart.	Archdeacon Sinclair	
601	,, ,, of Ulbster, Bart.	Rev. John Sinclair	
602	Sinclair, Sir John, Bart.	N.P.G.	
603	Sinclair, William ("Painted at the age of four"), Rev. the Rector of Pulborough, 5th son of Sir John Sinclair, Bart.	Archdeacon Sinclair	About 1801
604	Skene, James, of Rubislaw (1774-1864)	Miss Skene	
605	Skene, Mrs., wife of James Skene	,,	
606	Skirving, Archibald (1749-1819), Portrait-painter	R. C. Johnson, Washington	
607	Smith, Archibald, of Jordanhill (1749-1821)	T. Denroche Smith	About 1820
608	,, ,, ,, Replica	Mrs. Archibald Smith	
609	Smith, Mrs. Alexander	D. Smith	
610	Smith, David, Banker, Edinburgh		
611	Smith, George, Master of Trinity House	Incorporation of Shipmasters, Trinity House, Leith	1807
612	Smith, James, of Jordanhill (1782-1867)	Mrs. Archibald Smith	1823
613	Smith, Mrs., of Jordanhill (1789-1847)	,,	1823
614	Smith, John, of Craigend (1739-1816)	J. S. Rankin	
615	Speirs, Archibald, of Elderslie (1758-1832)	Mr. Speirs	
616	Speirs, Mrs. Archibald (Margaret Dundas)	Marquess of Zetland, K.T.	
617	Spenser, the Poet (copy by Raeburn)	Lord Spencer, Althorp	
618	Spens, Nathaniel, M.D. (1728-1815)	Royal Company of Archers, Edinburgh	1791
619	Steuart, General Sir James Steuart-Denham, of Coltness	N.G.I.	

620	Steuart, Lady, wife of Sir James Steuart	F. Fleischmann	
621	Stevenson, Lieut.-Gen. Sir James, K.C.B., of Barns	Mr. Hope	
622	Stewart, Daniel (1741-1814)	Merchant Company, Edinburgh	
623	Stewart, Professor Dugald (1753-1828)	E. G. Fraser-Tytler	
624	Stewart, G. H., of Physgill, with horse	R. J. Stewart, of Glasserton	
625	Stewart, Mrs., of Physgill	R. J. Stewart, of Glasserton	About 1823
626	Stewart, John, of Garth	Sir Donald Currie, K.C.M.G.	
627	Stewart, Sir Michael Shaw		
628	Stewart, Mrs., of Kirkchrist	Lawson Peacock	
629	Stirling, Miss Christian, 2nd daughter of Sir William Stirling, of Ardoch, wife of George Dundas, of Dundas	Archibald Stirling	
630	Stirling, Helen, family of Keir and Cawdor (1808-22)	,,	1811
631	Stirling, John, of Kippendavie, and Jane, his daughter	Mr. Stirling, of Kippendavie	
632	Stirling, Robert (1772-1808), family of Keir	Archibald Stirling	
633	Stirling, William, of Cordale (1780-1847)	Mr. Stirling	
634	Stodart, Robert, of Kailzie and Ormiston Hill	Mrs. Wyld	
635	Stothert, William, of Cargew	Rev. Burton Alexander	
636	Strachan, Mrs. Renny		
637	Stuart, Charles, of Edinburgh		
638	Stuart, Sir James, of Allarton		
639	Stuart, Sir John, Bart. (——1821), of Fettercairn, M.P.	Hon. C. F. Trefusis	About 1805
640	Suttie, George, H.E.I.C.S.	Sir George Grant Suttie, Bart.	About 1795
641	Suttie, Janet, daughter of Sir James	,,	About 1818

No.	Subject.	Owner.	Date.
642	Suttie, Margaret, daughter of Sir James	Sir George Grant Suttie, Bart.	About 1818
643	Suttie, Lady, wife of Sir James Grant Suttie, of Prestongrange	,,	About 1795
644	Sym, Robert (1752-1844), W.S. ("Timothy Tickler")	Miss J. Grant	
645	Tait, John (1727-1800), W.S., of Harvieston	Mrs. Pitman	
646	Tait, John, and grandchild (latter by another hand?) (1796-1878), afterwards Sheriff of Perth	,,	About 1798-99
647	Taylor, Rev. William, sen., D.D. (1744-1823), Principal Glasgow University	Mrs. Monteith	
648	Telford, Thomas (1757-1834), Engineer	Mrs. Burge	About 1812
649	Thomson, Rev. Andrew, D.D. (1778-1831)	St. George's Parish, Edinburgh	
	Thomson, Christina (Mrs. White, *q.v.*)		
650	Thomson, George	The Misses Thomson	
651	Thomson, John	Mrs. Bell	
652	Thomson, Rev. John (1778-1840), of Duddingston, Landscape-painter	Archibald Stirling	
653	Thomson, Robert, of Camphill (1771-1831)	Col. Sir Robert White Thomson, K.C.B.	About 1820
654	Thomson, Thomas (1768-1852), Antiquary	Mr. Kennedy, Dalquharran Castle	

655	Tod, John, of Kirkhill, W.S.	Mr. Tod	
656	Torphichen, James, 9th Lord (1759-1815)	Lord Torphichen	
657	Torphichen, Lady, wife of Lord Torphichen	,,	
658	Towers, Professor James, Surgeon	R. Towers	1818
659	Trotter, Archibald, of Bush	Lieut.-Colonel Trotter	
	Tytler, Alexander Fraser. *See* Lord Woodhouselee		
660	Tytler, Mrs. Grant Fraser	E. Grant Fraser-Tytler	
661	Tytler, William, W.S., F.R.S.E. (1711-1792)	,,	
662	Urquhart, William, Merchant, Glasgow	Glasgow Corporation Galleries	
663	Urquhart, Mrs. William	,,	
664	Vere, Mrs. Jacobina Leslie, step-daughter of Raeburn, wife of Daniel Vere, of Stonebyres, Sheriff-Substitute of Lanarkshire	Mrs. Keiller	
665	Walker, Mrs. F., of Hawthornden	Sir J. Drummond, Bart.	
666	Wallace, Hugh, of 7th Fusiliers	Hugh R. Wallace	
667	Wallace, Mrs., of Bascally	,,	
668	Wardrop, James (1731-1830), of Torbanehill	J. C. Wardrop	
669	Wardrop, James, M.D. (1782-1869)	Mrs. Wardrop	
670	Watson, Walter T., son of Capt. Andrew Watson, of Hunthill. [Pastel]		About 1796
671	Wauchope, Andrew, of Niddrie		

No.	Subject.	Owner.	Date.
672	Wauchope, John (1767-1797)	Sir J. Don Wauchope, Bart.	
673	,, (1742-1810), of Edmonstone	,,	
674	Wauchope, John, W.S. (1751-1828), son of Andrew Wauchope, of Niddrie	N.G.S.	
675	Wauchope, Mrs. (family of Erskine, of Dun) (——1811)	Sir J. D. Don Wauchope, Bart.	
	Wedderburn, Alex. (Earl of Rosslyn, *q.v.*)		
676	Wedderburn, James (1782-1822)	Mrs. Mackenzie	
677	,, Mrs.	,,	
	Wedderburn, Miss. *See* John Johnstone		
678	Wellwood, Rev. Sir Henry Moncrieff, Bart., D.D. (1750-1827)	Lord Moncrieff	
679	Wellwood, Rev. Sir Henry Moncrieff, Bart.	Church of Scotland Widows' Fund Trustees	
680	Wellwood, Rev. Sir Henry Moncrieff, Bart.	W. E. Malcolm	
	Welwood, Hon. Alexander Maconochie (2nd Lord Meadowbank, *q.v.*)		
681	Welwood, Elizabeth (Mrs. Allan Maconochie)		
682	Welwood, Mrs. (1728-1813), of Touch and Garvock	J. A. Maconochie Welwood	About 1810
683	Welwood, Mrs., wife of 2nd Lord Meadowbank	,,	1818
684	Wemyss, Francis, 7th Earl of (1779-1853)	Earl of Wemyss	1812

685	Wemyss, Countess, wife of 7th Earl of Wemyss (Miss Margaret Campbell)	Earl of Wemyss	
686	Wharton, Mrs. William	Marquess of Zetland, K.T.	
687	White, Mrs., of Howden	Forbes & Paterson	
688	White, Mrs. Christina, daughter of Robert Thomson, of Camphill; wife of Rev. Thomas White, M.A., of Lichfield	Col. Sir Robert White Thomson, K.C.B.	About 1822
689	Williams, Hugh William (1773-1829), Aquarellist ("Grecian Williams")	N.P.G.	
	Willoughby de Eresby, Lady (daughter of Lady Perth, *q.v.*)		
690	Wilson, Prof. John (1785-1857) ("Christopher North"), with horse	R.S.A. in S.N.P.G.	About 1805
691	Wood, Alexander, President of Harveian Society		
692	Wood, Andrew, Surgeon (1742-1821)	Dr. Russell Wood	
693	Wood, Mrs., wife of Andrew Wood	,,	
694	Wood, Peter		
695	Wood, Thomas	A. R. Wilson Wood	Very early
696	Woodhouselee, Lord of Session, Alexander Fraser-Tytler (1747-1812)		1804
697	Woodhouselee, Lord of Session	Fraser-Tytler	1804
698	Wyld, Mrs., of Gilston	Mrs. Wyld	
699	Wynyard, Col. Henry	Col. Cornwallis West	
700	Young, Alexander, W.S.	A. Rutherford	
701	Young, Mrs.	,,	

[Unnamed works are in various collections.]

II.

Raeburn's Miniatures.

NAME.	OWNER.
Cochrane, Mrs.	Miss Cochrane
Deuchar, David (1745-1808)	Patrick B. Deuchar
Gardiner, Dr.	Miss Lee
Grant, Sir John Peter, of Rothiemurchus, Bart., M.P., on ivory	J. P. Grant
Hamilton, Professor James, M.D.	Mrs. Leatham
Macdonald, Miss	T. S. Robertson, Broughty Ferry
Ritchie, Miss	Mrs. Brown
Wallace, Mrs., of Biscally	Hugh R. Wallace
Wood, Andrew, Surgeon (1742-1821)	Miss Edmonstoune
Madonna, Head of a	Was in Gibson-Craig collection, signed "H. R." Dated 1777

III.

Engravings after Raeburn.

When the same portrait has been several times engraved, only the principal rendering is cited here. The Nos. are those in Appendix I.

No.	Name.	Style and Engraver.
	Abercromby, Lord Alexander	Mezzotint by J. Dawe
	Abercromby, Sir George, Bart.	,, T. Lupton
8	Adam, Dr. Alexander	,, C. Turner, 1809
13	Alison, Rev. Archibald	Stipple by W. Walker
25	Baird, General Sir David	Mezzotint by Hodgetts
27	Balfour, James	,, J. Jones, 1796
31	Barclay of Urie	Engraved by Beugo
35	Bell, Dr. Benjamin	Engraved in line by Beugo and by Walker
45	Black, Joseph	Stipple by Rodgers
46	Blair, Lord President	Line by James Heath, 1813
48	Blair, Rev. Dr. Hugh	Stipple by Bartolozzi and by Bestland, 1822
	Braxfield, Lord	Mezzotint by C. Dawe, 1801
	Do. (when older)	Line by D. Lizars, 1798
63	Brewster, Sir David	,, W. Hall
66	Brown, Robert	,, W. H. Lizars
69	Bruce, John	,, Mitchell
77	Bute, Marquis of	Mezzotint by Ward
83	Campbell, General	Engraved by J. B. Bird, 1834
115	Cathcart, Robert	Mezzotint by Turner
120	Chantrey, Sir F. L.	Stipple by J. Thomson, 1820

Sir Henry Raeburn, R.A.

No.	Name.	Style and Engraver.
124	Clerk, John, of Eldin	Lithograph in Bannatyne Club etchings
127	Cockburn, Lord	Line by Bell
130	Colville, General Lord	Mezzotint by Payne
133	Constable, Archibald	,, ,,
136	Craig, Sir James Gibson-, Bart.	Line by R. Bell
143	Creech, William	,, W. and D. Lizars as frontispiece to Creech's *Edinburgh Fugitive Pieces*
154	Dalzel, Professor Andrew	Line by R. C. Bell
157	Dickson, Rev. Dr. Robert	Mezzotint by Charles Turner
170	Duff, Captain	,, Dawe
181	Dundas, 2nd Lord President	Line by W. Sharpe, 1798
201	Elder, Lord Provost	Mezzotint by R. Earlom
204	Eldin, Lord (with statuette)	,, C. Turner
208	Erskine, Hon. Henry	,, James Ward
214	Erskine, Rev. Dr. John	,, G. Dawe
217	Erskine, Colonel	,, ,, (head)
219	Farquhar, Sir Walter	Line by W. Sharpe, 1797 (half-length)
265	Glenlee, Lord	Mezzotint by Walker
272	Gow, Neil	Mezzotint by W. Say; stipple by Scott
293	Gray, Hon. John	Mezzotint by Hodgetts
294	Gray, John, Baron	Engraved by Bond
295	Gray, John, of Newholm	Mezzotint by G. Dawe, 1806
297	Gregory, Dr. James	,, ,, 1805
299	Gregory, Mrs.	,, J. B. Pratt, 1897
310	Hamilton, Elizabeth	Mezzotint by Meyer
311	Hamilton, Dr. James, sen.	,, C. Turner
328	Hay, Sir James, 4th Baronet	,, Hodgetts
341	Home, Rev. John	Line by Haig and by A. Birrell, 1799
345	Hope, Right Hon. Charles	Mezzotint by Dawe
350	Hope, Thomas Charles	,, T. Hodgetts
354	Hopetoun, John, 4th Earl of	Mezzotint stipple by Walker
356	Horner, Francis	Mezzotint by Reynolds
362	Hume, Professor David	,, C. Turner

Appendix III.

No.	Name.	Style and Engraver.
367	Hunter, Dr. Andrew	Mezzotint by Dawe and Hodgetts
373	Inglis, Henry David	Mezzotint by C. Turner; stipple by Scott
382	Jardine, George	Mezzotint by Hodgetts
386	Johnstone, Rev. Dr. David	,, Dawe
405	Kinnear, Mrs. George	Etched by W. G. Burn Murdoch
409	Law, James, of Elvinston	Mezzotint by A. Hay
410	Law, John, ,,	,, Dawe
434	Macdonell, Alastair	,, T. Hodgetts
478	Marcet, Dr. Alexander	Engraved by Meyer
484	Meadowbank, 2nd Lord, Hon. Alex. Maconochie Welwood	Mezzotint by Dick
485	Melville, Henry Dundas, 1st Lord	,, Dawe
494	Moncrieff, Mrs. Scott-	Mezzotint by T. G. Appleton and R. S. Clouston; etched by C. O. Murray, 1879
497	Monro, Dr. Alexander	Stipple by Heath
513	Murray, Lord	Mezzotint by Walker
520	Newton, Lord, Charles Hay	Mezzotint by C. Turner, 1814; wood by T. Cole, 1898
526	Oswald, Mrs.	Stipple by Ryall
534	Pillans, Professor James	Mezzotint by Turner
547	Raeburn, Sir Henry	Stipple by W. Walker; etched by W. Nicholson, 1818
566	Robison, Professor John	Mezzotint by Turner
585	Scott, Sir Walter, Bart. (1808)	Mezzotint by C. Turner, 1810
588	Do. (1822-23)	Stipple by Walker, 1826
613	Smith, Mrs., of Jordanhill	Mezzotint by J. W. Chapman, 1890
618	Spens, Dr. Nathaniel	Line by Beugo, 1796
623	Stewart, Professor Dugald	Mezzotint by Turner; line by Lizars
627	Stewart, Sir Michael Shaw	Mezzotint by Cousins
638	Stuart, Sir James	,, Burton

Sir Henry Raeburn, R.A.

No.	Name.	Style and Engraver.
642	Suttie, Miss Margaret	Mezzotint by R. S. Clouston, 1893
644	Sym, Robert	Line by Bell
649	Thomson, Rev. Dr. Andrew	Stipple vignette by Walker
650	Thomson, George	,, Cochrane
652	Thomson, Rev. John	Mezzotint by A. Hay
661	Tytler, William	,, Jones, 1790
678	Wellwood, Rev. Sir Henry Moncrieff, Bart., D.D.	,, C. Turner
	Welwood, Hon. A. Maconochie, 2nd Lord Meadowbank (*q.v.*)	,, Dick
684	Wemyss, Francis, 7th Earl of	Lithograph by Carbonnier
697	Woodhouselee, Lord	Stipple vignette by Picart

An Engraving by Hedouin of "A Greenwich Pensioner," in the Louvre, which is attributed to Raeburn.

IV.

Raeburn Pictures in Public Galleries.

NATIONAL GALLERY, LONDON.

No. 1146. Portrait of a Lady. A member of the Dudgeon family. Life-size; full-length.
No. 1435. Portrait of Lieut.-Col. Bryce McMurdo. 94 in. × 58 in.

NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY, LONDON.

Rev. John Home, author of *Douglas*. To the waist; 29 in. × 24 in.
Francis Horner, M.P. 49½ in. × 39½ in.
Henry Mackenzie, author of *The Man of Feeling*. 29⅛ in. × 24⅝ in.
Professor John Playfair, M.A., F.R.S.E. 49⅜ in. × 39½ in.
Sir John Sinclair, of Ulbster, LL.D. Seated figure to below the knees; 48½ in. × 38⅜ in.
Hugh William Williams, called "Grecian Williams." To the waist; 29½ in. × 24½ in.

NATIONAL GALLERY, EDINBURGH.

(The numbers are those in the official Catalogue.)

No. 143. Mrs. Campbell, of Ballimore. Half-length; 50 in. × 40 in.
No. 140. Mrs. Kennedy, of Dunure. Half-length; 50 in. × 40 in. The property of the R.S.A.
No. 169. Mrs. Scott-Moncrieff. Head size; 30 in. × 25 in. The property of the R.S.A.
No. 171. Lord Newton. Head size; 30 in. × 25 in.
No. 157. John Wauchope, W.S. Head size; 30 in. × 25 in.
No. 188. Mrs. Hamilton. Full-length; 94 in. × 60 in.
No. 200. Alexander Bonar. Head size; 30 in. × 25 in.
No. 205. Mrs. Bonar. Head size; 30 in. × 25 in.
No. 212. Alexander Adam, LL.D. Three-quarter-length; 49 in. × 39 in.

Sir Henry Raeburn, R.A.

No. 231. Lady Hume Campbell and Child. Full-length; 79 in. × 60 in.
No. 250. Col. Macdonell, of Glengarry. Full-length; 96 in. × 60 in.
No. 253. Adam Rolland, of Gask. Full-length; 78 in. × 60 in.
No. 208. Major Clunes. Full-length; 96 in. × 60 in. Bequeathed to the Royal Scottish Academy by Lady Siemens, 1902.

ROYAL SCOTTISH ACADEMY.

In addition to those deposited in the National Gallery of Scotland and Scottish National Portrait Gallery, and included in their respective lists:—

Portrait of John Pitcairn (in Academy Library).
,, Mrs. Pitcairn ,,

SCOTTISH NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY.

Rev. Professor Dalzel, F.R.S. 49½ in. × 39 in.
Neil Gow. 48½ in. × 38½ in.
Francis Horner, M.P. 30 in. × 24 in.
Robert Montgomery. 50 in. × 40 in.
Professor Thomas Reid, D.D. 29½ in. × 25½ in. The property of Glasgow University.
Professor John Wilson. 93 in. × 58 in. The property of the Royal Scottish Academy.

GLASGOW ART GALLERY, KELVINGROVE.

No. 771. William Jamieson, jun. Half-length; life-size; 30 in. × 25 in.
No. 772. A gentleman. Half-length; 24 in. × 19 in.
No. 773. William Mills, Lord Provost of Glasgow. Half-length; 30 in. × 25 in.
No. 779. William Urquhart. Half-length; 30 in. × 25 in.
No. 780. Mrs. William Urquhart. Half-length; 30 in. × 25 in.

ALBERT INSTITUTE, DUNDEE.

Duncan, Alexander, W.S., of Restalrig and St. Fort. Seated full-length; 74 in. × 60 in. The property of Mrs. Anstruther-Duncan, Naughton, Fife.

Prices Fetched by Raeburn Pictures.

Date.	Portrait of	Price.	Owner.	Buyer.
		£ s.		
1863	Sir Walter Scott as a youth	3 5	W. Russell	Bought in
1877	Hon. W. Adam	73 10	Raeburn's Exors.	Hall
,,	Sir J. Sinclair	50 8	,,	Nat. Portrait Gallery
,,	Lord Buchan	52 10		
,,	Lord Cockburn	99 15	,,	Thorn
,,	Sir D. Brewster	105 0	,,	Gladwell
,,	James Byres	199 0	,,	Moncrieff
,,	Sir J. Rennie	178 10	,,	Gladwell
,,	Andrew Dalzel	50 8	,,	Gibson-Craig
,,	Sir W. Scott	325 10	,,	Gladwell
,,	H. Mackenzie	50 8	,,	Nat. Portrait Gallery
,,	Professor J. Playfair	84 0	,,	Lyell
,,	Francis Horner	110 5	,,	,,
,,	Dr. Andrew Thomson	50 8	,,	Gibson-Craig
,,	Sir H. Raeburn, R.A.	535 10	,,	White
,,	Rev. A. Alison	81 18	,,	Sir W. Maxwell
,,	Viscount Melville	141 15	,,	Colnaghi
,,	Rev. J. Thomson, of Duddingston	78 15	,,	Nat. Portrait Gallery
,,	Lady and Children	157 10	,,	Anderson
,,	Lady Raeburn	997 10	,,	Heugh
,,	Study of Child	299 5	,,	Wallace

Date.	Portrait of	Price.	Owner.	Buyer.
		£ s.		
1877	Boy with Cherries[1]	252 0	Raeburn's Exors.	Agnew
,,	Commodore Johnstone	74 10	,,	Hall
,,	A Child	210 0	,,	Anderson
,,	"Contemplation" (Mrs. Johnstone)	194 5	,,	Hall
,,	A Lady	110 5	,,	Lord Shand
,,	Rear-Admiral Maitland	157 10	,,	Anderson
,,	Mrs. Hamilton	236 5	,,	
,,	Henry Raeburn, his son, on grey pony[2]	430 10	,,	Johnson
1878	Lady Raeburn (58×43)	640 10	J. Heugh	
1884	Lord W. Russell	50 8	W. Russell's Exs.	
,,	Walter Scott as a youth	157 10	,,	Agnew
,,	Warren Hastings	21 0	,,	Vokins
1886	A Greenwich Pensioner	95 0	(For the Louvre)	
		Guineas.		
1887	His own portrait	350	Andrew	
,,	Lady Raeburn	810	,,	
,,	Henry Raeburn	300	,,	
1888	A Child	310		
		£ s.		
1890	Professor J. Playfair	220 0	Slover	
1894	Francis Horner	262 0		
1895	Col. McDonald	225 0		
1896	A Lady	800 0	Capt. Campbell	

[1] Boy with Cherries (D. P. Sellar, owner), 17th March 1888, 300 guineas.
,, ,, (Sir W. Cunliffe Brooks), June 1901, 2000 guineas.
,, ,, (30×25) (Sir W. Cunliffe Brooks, at Christie's), 5th July 1902, 1250 guineas.

[2] Forty-nine portraits, May 7th, 1877, total £6000.

Appendix V.

1897	Edward Sutchwell Fraser	346	0
,,	,, ,,	483	0
,,	Wm. Fraser	420	0
,,	Alex. Fraser	630	0
,,	Jas. Baillie Fraser	399	0
,,	Geo. John Fraser	672	0
,,	Jane Anne Fraser	882	0
,,	Alex. Tytler	225	0
,,	Jane Tytler	1312	0
1898	Mrs. John Phillips	294	0
1899	Young Girl in White Muslin	1995	0
,,	Thomas King, of Drums	420	0
,,	Mrs. F. Robertson Reid	1386	0
,,	Col. Francis Scott	714	0
,,	The Artist	325	0
,,	James Haig	325	0
,,	Mrs. Rennie Strachan	892	0
		Guineas.	
1900	Rev. Sir H. Moncrieff	480	
,,	Allen Macdougall	200	
,,	Principal Hill	384	Fraser
,,	Mrs. Hill	1275	,,
		£ s.	
1901	Susanna Morrison	840	0
,,	Rt. Hon. Wm. Adam	630	0 Antrobus
,,	James Edgar (£183 with three others in 1890)	367	0
,,	Bonar Children	273	0
,,	Mrs. Campbell	409	0
,,	Jane, Duchess of Gordon	504	0
,,	Little Boy (£252 in 1877; £325 in 1888)	2100	0 Cunliffe Brooks

Date.	Portrait of	Price.	Owner.	Buyer.
		£ s.		
1902	Alex. Campbell	367 10		
,,	Mrs. Chalmers	199 10		
,,	Lord Glenlee	687 10		
,,	Lieut.-Col. W. M. Morrison	840 0		
,,	Mrs. Maconochie	262 10		
,,	John Campbell	2415 0		Bought in
,,	Child with Cherries	1312 10		
,,	Mary and Grace Murray, daughters of W. Murray	546 0		
,,	Lady (supposed to be Lady Raeburn), 5th July	1365 0		
,,	Hon. Henry Erskine	651 0		
,,	Sir W. Napier, Bart.	840 0		
,,	George and Maria Stewart, children of Prof. Dugald Stewart	3780 0		
,,	Gentleman in dark coat	241 10		
,,	Gentleman in blue coat	220 10		
,,	Gentleman in green coat	131 5		
,,	John Macintosh	78 15		
,,	Mr. Macdonald, of Clan Ronald	105 0		
,,	Mrs. White	110 5		
,,	Young Girl	157 10		
1903	Miss Lilian Campbell	1890 0		
,,	Col. Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster	14,700 0		
1904	Miss Stewart of Ballechin, afterwards Mrs. Charles Steuart of Dalguise	2887 10	J. N. Durrant Steuart	

VI.

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14. **Archer's** "Family of Edgar."
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Sir Henry Raeburn, R.A.

18. Sir Henry Raeburn, a selection from his portraits. With Introduction and Notes. By **William Ernest Henley.**
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21. Letters of John Carne. By **Dr. Ross.**

NOTE.—Sir H. Raeburn has a place in many works upon art, such as the **Redgraves'** "Century of Painters" and **Richard Muther's** "History of Modern Painting," and he is referred to by several general writers, such as **R. L. Stevenson** in "Virginibus Puerisque." The various dictionaries, **Bryan's, Pilkington's,** that of **Universal Biography,** of **National Biography,** and the several encyclopædias need no enumeration. The **Catalogues** of the Raeburn Exhibition of 1876, of the Edinburgh Loan Exhibition of 1884, and of the National Gallery of Scotland may be specified. Of many magazine articles, two only need be noted, one in the **Century** (35, 1898-99) by **John C. Van Dyke** upon "Cole's Old English Masters," and one in **Blackwood** for November 1867, treating of the portrait-painters of the nineteenth century. Of these the former is wonderfully inaccurate in its facts. The only biographical authority of value is Cunningham. This is so marked that even the painter's great-grandson is reduced to copying page after page from Allan. From that the inference is that there are no family records. Sir Walter Armstrong deals largely in surmise and comment. Personally, Raeburn is almost as little known as some of the early painters of Italy. Like them, his life-story is best read in his works, the most perfectly authentic and certainly not the least interesting form of biography.

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